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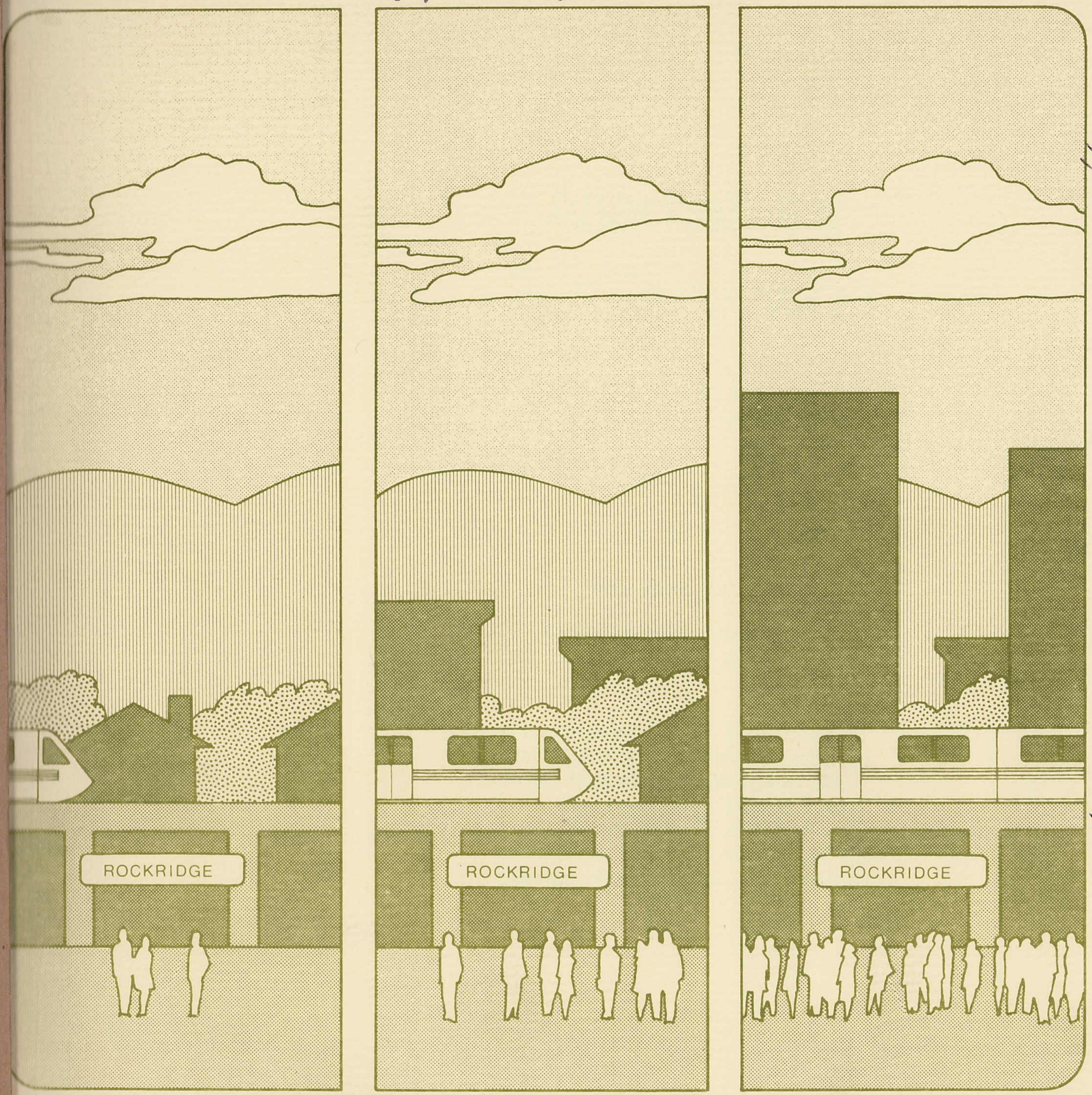

Alternatives For Rockridge

(1974)

A Study of the Rockridge BART Station Area

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Alternatives For Rockridge

A STUDY OF THE
ROCKRIDGE BART STATION AREA

January, 1974

Oakland City Planning
Department

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Preface

This report makes no recommendations as such.

Instead it analyzes conditions in Rockridge as they are now and will be under current trends--and then sketches out alternative strategies which might be pursued to alter the course of events. It describes the kinds of actions which would be required under each alternative, and outlines the consequences which would probably result from implementing it. However, the alternatives are really concepts rather than proposals, and this report makes no attempt to recommend any one of them over the others.

Nor can it be said that the City as such is "offering" these alternatives to Rockridge. Even if people in the area decide on one of these alternatives as their preference, there is certainly no guarantee that the City Council would decide--or could afford--to implement it. Indeed the Council, which must balance deal with city-wide concerns, might prefer a different alternative. The alternatives in this report are formulated by the City Planning Department, and the City Council and the City Planning Commission did not review them prior to publication.

These alternatives are posed as a basis for discussion, by people in Rockridge with City officials. This discussion could culminate in important policy decisions for the area. By depicting a series of broad alternatives, along with background material, this report can therefore be viewed as an aid to decision-making.

The report itself has been done as part of a study of the areas around the Fruitvale, MacArthur, and Rockridge BART stations, for which the City received a Federal grant in 1972. The City undertook this study because of a longstanding interest in the possibilities of using BART stations as a catalyst for improving their surroundings.

It must be emphasized that the study has never attempted to deal with all major issues facing Rockridge. Rather, it has focused on questions affecting land use, and more particularly on those relating to the BART station. Although the analysis here deals with economic and social factors, the alternatives themselves are basically physical in nature. This is not meant to imply that physical issues are of primary importance, or that physical improvements alone can remedy social and economic problems.

The study has been under the overall direction of the City Planning Department. The Redevelopment Agency has provided assistance on matters relating to land costs and renewal. Economic consultants were hired as the third major participant. The firm of Gruen Gruen + Associates presented their conclusions in a detailed report entitled Economic and Social Analysis of Three Oakland BART Station Areas: MacArthur, Rockridge, Fruitvale, on which much of the present report is based.

In addition, numerous citizens and groups have offered valuable assistance and suggestions--either informally, through interviews, or at meetings held in the area. Special appreciation goes to members of the Rockridge Community Planning Council, their past chairman Ken Natkin, and their current chairman Ted Burton. Special thanks are also due to James Cowart of the Oakland

Chamber of Commerce, Howard Goode of BART, and Bob Lee of the City's Traffic Engineering and Parking Department.

While this study would not have been possible without the contributions of those named above, and others, the City Planning Department accepts sole responsibility for the conclusions presented in this report.

Highlights

eneral Economic Factors. *In no case will new development occur around any BART station solely or automatically because of BART. The economic effects of any station will depend also on city-wide and regional forces--and especially on the surrounding area's own physical and socio-economic characteristics.*

xisting Conditions. *In general, Rockridge is a iddle-income area of single-family houses, with small, ow-keyed commercial facilities and some apartments. ockridge has a strong sense of identity, and resi-ents typically describe it as an interesting and esirable community. However, some sections west of ollege Avenue are beginning to show signs of under-aintenance and deterioration. At some places along ollege itself, traffic congestion has been a problem.*

ossible Types of Public Actions. *There are many inds of public actions which might be carried out to lter the existing conditions and economic forces in ockridge. These include rezonings and zoning text hanges, redevelopment, conservation and rehabili-ation of existing structures, many varieties of en-ironmental or access improvements, and different orms of financial assistance programs.*

urrent Outlook. *Assuming that no major public ctions, such as large-scale rezonings, will be under-aken to alter the course of events, some significant hanges can be expected in Rockridge. On the one nd BART will (except in the more distant sections st of Claremont) work to increase housing and com-ercial demand in an area which is already economi-lly desirable. Overall, there will be a large ount of wood frame apartment construction. Most multiple-zoned sections will share in this to some extent. High-rise may be built along high-density-zoned College, Claremont, Broadway, or Broadway Terrace. Also, a substantial amount of new commercial construction is likely along College. On the other hand, pressures for housing deterioration west of College will threaten to intensify and spread.*

Alternatives for Rockridge. *The current outlook could be changed if appropriate new public actions were undertaken. Five broad alternative strategies are posed, and the likely effects of implementing each of them are outlined.*

- *Alternative I (Preservation As Is Throughout Rockridge) would seek to keep physical and economic conditions as they are now--in all sections. Achieving this goal would require a package of actions including radical downzoning, environmental improvements, and rehab, with some form of financial assistance where necessary to help lower-income owners make repairs. If this alternative were implemented, there would be very little new construction in Rockridge. On the other hand, the existing pressures for physical deterioration would be contained. Inevitably there would be some minor increases in housing prices and commercial rents, but not enough to significantly displace existing income groups.*

- *Alternative II (Moderate-Scale Development Near the Station) would try to keep the outlying sections of Rockridge physically as they are now, but would encourage new development and general upgrading in those places most accessible to BART--that is,* properties close to the station or on College Avenue. Special emphasis would be placed on design standards to ensure that new construction does not depart greatly from existing Rockridge character. In outlying areas, public actions would be like those under Alternative I, but there would be more intensive efforts near the station and along College. A significant amount of new moderate-scale construction would result in the latter sections. There would also be some increases in rents and typical resident incomes, most importantly in those same sections.

- Alternative III (Moderate-Scale Development West of College) would encourage new private investment, and general upgrading, in those sections of Rockridge which are threatened with physical deterioration: sections west of College and the lower portion of College itself. In particular, good-quality new housing, carefully designed to harmonize with its surroundings, would be encouraged on sizable, strategically located sites west of College. A significant amount of new construction would in fact occur west of College, and on lower College itself, and the general environment in these sections would be significantly improved. There would also be moderate to major housing price increases in these sections, and a tendency for new residents to have significantly higher incomes. The sections east of College would remain largely as they are now, and the improvements to the west would serve to reinforce and protect them.

- Alternative IV (Maximum Private Investment Near the Station) would encourage new development in essentially the same places as Alternative II, but it would accept much more intensive development there. Public actions would seek to radically redesign the station's immediate surroundings--through moderate-scale redevelopment if appropriate. Major new commercial and housing construction would occur near the station and along College, and a cluster around the station would become the dominant focus of Rockridge. The outlying sections of Rockridge would st
basically as they are now physically, although many
them would likely experience significant increases
housing prices and average incomes. On College, th
would be major rent increases, and increased orient
tion toward regional markets.

- Alternative V (Maximum Private Investment in Rockri
As A Whole) would encourage new construction in man
sections of Rockridge, especially at the station an
along major trafficways--although other sections wo
be carefully preserved to encourage investment in
existing structures. There would be upzonings in s
places and downzonings in others--and perhaps moder
scale redevelopment in some places--along with sign
ficant upgrading efforts in all sections. Most of
Rockridge would see substantial increases in housin
prices and the average incomes of residents. There
would be more housing and commercial construction,
a bigger overall increase in assessed valuation, th
under any other alternative. The increase in publi
expenditures would also be the biggest--representin
largely environmental and access improvements neces
to accommodate the new private development.

Chapter 1

General Economic Factors

fore looking more closely at Rockridge, it is essary to consider the basic economic factors ich affect the potential around BART stations nerally. These are:

The overall economic potential of Oakland and the Bay Region.

The localized factors which affect the relative market for housing or nonresidential space at different specific locations.

BART's own direct impacts, such as reductions in travel time.

e interactions among these factors are complex. For ample, BART will tend to increase the relative mand for space at some specific locations -- al-ough, as we shall see, it will have no significant fect in places where the other localized factors e unfavorable. Also, BART may well act to stimula- overall economic growth in the Bay Region. Though timating such a regional growth effect was beyond e scope of their assignment consultants Gruen Gruen Associates did find that many knowledgeable people om they interviewed had this kind of effect in mind. rthermore, the overall Stanford Research Institute jections with which the Gruens worked (described low) may well have reflected such an effect.

One basic assumption made in the study was that BART will indeed "work": that reasonably soon, despite its current technical and fiscal problems, it will be able to start trans-bay service and generally to operate at something like its originally expected level of service.

REGIONAL AND CITY-WIDE ECONOMIC POTENTIAL

The demand for housing and nonresidential space in specific areas, like those around the BART stations, operates within the overall limits that apply to the Bay Region -- and, more specifically, to Oakland.

Employment Trends. The entire San Francisco-Oakland SMSA (Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area) is unusual in terms of the relatively low percentage of employment in the manufacturing sector. Instead, a very high proportion of jobs are in business or consumer services and similar fields.

Oakland itself developed initially as a manufacturing center, and even in 1960 about 26 percent of its employment was in manufacturing. However, the number of manufacturing jobs dropped by 30.1 percent between 1960 and 1970. In contrast, the same period saw a 37 percent rise in Oakland's "FIRE"(finance, insurance, and real estate) employment and a 30 percent increase in the services category.

Table 1

TOTAL NONAGRICULTURAL WAGE AND SALARY JOBS BY
STANDARD INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION: OAKLAND, 1970-1985

Standard Industrial Classification	1970	1975	1985	1970-1985 Change Number	 Per Cen
Total Nonagricultural Wage and Salary Jobs	166,802	173,800	194,400	+27,578	+16.
Kinds Typically Using Office Space:	66,284	73,700	87,100	+20,816	+31.
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	10,734	12,100	15,500	+ 4,766	+44.
Services	26,392	29,600	37,100	+10,708	+40.
Government[a]	29,158	32,000	34,500	+ 5,342	+18.
Retail Trade	28,484	29,100	29,900	+ 1,416	+ 5.
Wholesale Trade	11,360	11,100	10,200	- 1,160	-10.
Other (Including Manufacturing, Transportation, Communication, and Utilities, Contract Construction, Etc.).	60,674	59,900	67,200	+ 6,526	+10.

Source: Gruen Gruen + Associates: Economic and Social Analysis of Three Oakland BART Station Areas: MacArth Rockridge, Fruitvale, with projections adjusted from those in Stanford Research Institute, Economic Projec- tions for Oakland to 1975 and 1985.

a. "Government" includes jobs in public education.

In projecting future employment, Gruen Gruen + Associates examined the set of forecasts made in 1968 by Stanford Research Institute for the City Planning Department as part of a comprehensive analysis of Oakland's economy. They found that SRI had forecast the 1968-1972 employment growth in finance, insurance, and real estate, as well as other services in Oakland, at a slightly faster rate than actually occurred in this period.

However, the Gruens felt that the overall nature of the SRI forecasts was quite reasonable. Therefore they decided to use SRI's basic projections but their time frame a few years forward. Table 1 sh the resulting figures for 1975 and 1985.

Demand for Office Space. The demand for office will increase partly because of the major employ growth expected in those categories which typical use office space. Probably space increases will be required for the expanding needs of existing ment: nationally, average space per employee ha going up for a variety of economic and technolog reasons. Employment growth will likely generate need for something like 3,500,000 square feet of additional space between 1970 and 1985, while expanded space needs for existing jobs may require some 2,000,000 square feet more. These add up to a total 1970 - 1985 net increase of about 5,500,000 square feet, or over 360,000 square feet per year. This figure should be viewed as the mid-range of a forecast which could vary 25 percent on either side.

Whether the actual pattern will be near the high or the low end of this range depends largely on the success of Oakland's Central District in attracting new offices. On the one hand, downtown Oakland's lack of a high intensity office cluster tends to reduce its attraction. Furthermore, San Francisco gives it very tough competition for headquarters offices. On the other hand, the City Center Redevelopment project may greatly enhance downtown Oakland's attractiveness. Also, typical downtown land prices n Oakland are considerably lower than in San Francisco.

tually, the existence of this fairly cheap downtown and may tend to reduce demand for non-downtown akland locations by those types of office users who ght otherwise seek them because of major land cost avings.

nother factor is the supply of clerical labor in the st Bay. In particular, the female labor pool in he suburbs is quite large. Furthermore, clerical ges tend to be somewhat lower in the East Bay than n San Francisco. For much of this labor supply, ART is now reducing the travel time to places near akland's stations -- both the downtown and the nonwntown ones.

mand for Retail Space. Available statistics do not ovide a sufficient basis for projecting the demand r retail space. However, we do know that between 60 and 1972 Oakland's total retail sales, measured current dollars, barely kept ahead of inflation. r some types, such as general merchandise, sales even fell behind the inflationary rate. These figures, along with conversations with knowledgeable people, suggest that many of Oakland's present retail facilities are obsolete. Yet, if dramatic new retail concentrations can be created, such as the planned City Center shopping mall, the slow retail growth could be accelerated. If this is not done, the recent pattern of stagnation may well turn into decline.

Demand for Industrial Space. Although Oakland can expect little if any net growth in warehouse and factory jobs, there will be demand for new industrial space. New establishments will come into the City, just as some existing ones will die out or leave. There will also be a demand for space from existing establishments wanting to modernize or replace their existing facilities. In some situations the most economical way to do this will involve expanding onto adjoining property. In other cases, industries will seek to move to newly-developing industrial sections of Oakland, and they will tend to use more land at their new locations. For both reasons a substantial amount of additional industrial land will be needed, over the next couple of decades, somewhere in Oakland.

Much of this demand will probably be met by the Port of Oakland's Industrial Park and other new areas. However, other sites can probably be provided in Oakland's older industrial sections, some of which contain underused parcels and obsolete uses.

Demand for Housing. Obviously the size and make-up especially the income levels, of Oakland's population directly affect the demand for housing. Between 1960 and 1970 total population declined from 367,548 to 361,561. However, consistent with a decrease in average household size, the total number of housing units increased a little in the same period: from 141,537 to 146,615.

Recent years have seen dramatic racial and ethnic changes, although some of this trend is tapering off. While many white families have left, many others --

some with fairly high income-- have stayed within Oakland or even moved into it from outside. Young whites continue to move in, probably due partly to Oakland's growth in office jobs. Also, significant numbers of elderly white Oaklanders are staying in the local housing market.

As for the "minority" (nonwhite or Spanish-surname) households, it should be emphasized that these cover a wide range of incomes. Only a minority of these minority groups have incomes below the poverty line.

Nevertheless Oakland continues to serve as a major entry point for relatively low-income immigrants to the Bay Area. These, together with existing low and moderate-income residents, create pressures on the supply of low-priced housing. This supply has in recent years been affected by the demolition of thousands of older units which, though often in far from perfect condition, did provide relatively inexpensive shelter.

As Table 2 indicates, the bulk of recent housing additions have been multi-family -- a pattern typical of central cities. The table also reflects the sizable amount of recent "publicly assisted" construction (public housing,"236," etc.).

Much of the assisted housing has been built in low-income sections of Oakland. In contrast, as one would expect, most of the non-assisted private construction has been in such higher-income sections as the Lake Merritt district and the Hills.

Looking ahead, multi-family units (some of them rental and some condominium) will continue to be the dominant form of new construction. The shortage of vacant land, and the level of land prices, will limit the amount of new traditional single-family detached homes. However, the absolute rate of private multi-family construction is unlikely to be higher than it was in the 1960's, and it could be lower. The actual rate, in fact the whole future of private unassisted housing constru tion in the City, will depend on the ability of Oakland's neighborhoods to retain their appeal to middle- and higher-income people--in other words those who can afford to pay the full price of new units.

Table 2

HOUSING UNIT ADDITIONS BY TYPE:
OAKLAND, 1960-1973

	1960-70	1970-
Private Market (Non-Assisted) Units:	23,318	1,3
Single-Family Units	5,758	3
Two-or Multi-Family Units	17,560	9
Publicly Assisted Units[a]	1,779	2,1
Total Units	25,097	3,5
Per Cent Publicly Assisted	7.1	62

Source: Oakland City Planning Department data.
a. "Publicly assisted" housing includes both unit owned or leased by Oakland Housing Authority a privately owned units subsidized by Federal Government under "236" or similar programs.
b. Includes only part of 1973.
c. Includes 58 single-family units.

FACTORS AFFECTING DEMAND FOR A PARTICULAR LOCATIO

Having considered the regional or city-wide deman for commercial, industrial, and residential uses, can now look at the kinds of market factors that decisions to locate these in one particular plac another. (Of course, zoning may to some degree influence the effects of these market factors -- for example, by narrowing the range of possible sites.)

Commercial Uses. The relative demand for commercial space at different locations tends to reflect differences in the cost of doing business and (particularly for retailing) the ability to generate sales there. These in turn depend on several major factors.

One of these is the accessibility to customers or clients with the income to make purchases. Obviously the more potential consumers, and/or the higher their incomes, the greater will be a site's sales potential. This principle applies not only to retailers but also to such uses as banks and medical and dental offices. The potential customers are usually people who live in readily accessible areas, but they may also be nearby employees or businesses. Sometimes, however, simple accessibility is not enough: people may just drive by if a store or its surroundings are unattractive.

A second, and related, factor is the particular site's advertising value. This refers to the quality and quantity of visual exposure to passers-by. It is especially important when the passers-by can easily stop and go into the establishment, but there is also a "billboard" kind of value in just being visible -- to people going through on a freeway, for example.

A third major concern is the "agglomeration effect," which has to do with the nearness of other, complementary uses. This effect is one reason for the popularity of the one-stop shopping center, but this is only one example. In general, competing sellers of similar products -- or services -- do best if they are located near each other. The series of antique stores along College Avenue, the cluster of medical offices on Pill Hill, and the "Auto Rows" along Broadway and East 14th Street are all examples of this effect.

Of the factors which affect the cost of doing business on a particular location, some are of special importance to many office users. One matter is the nearness and range of such business services as duplicating shops. Another concern is the ease of attracting the necessary clerical labor force. Here, again, mere ease of access can often be less important than attractive surroundings. For example, an office located in a pleasant and "safe" area, with good shops and restaurants, will find it easier to attract female employees.

Industrial Uses. For a factory or warehouse, the values of different sites vary with the costs of shipping raw materials and/or other goods to and from them, and the costs of attracting the labor force needed for operation. As for shipping costs, accessibility by rail or even ship is critical for some industries. Good accessibility by truck is, of course, important for most industries. As for labor force costs, the effects described in the last paragraph for office users are often relevant to industries.

Housing. Housing demand varies dramatically between different locations. Units of equal size, type, and quality, but located in areas with different social and economic characteristics, may vary widely in price.

This is because households seek more than just a housing unit with some land under it. They also buy or rent a whole residential environment which includes such features as the neighbor's social and economic characteristics; the appearance and "prestige" of the area and the other housing in it; the quality of local schools; street safety and noise levels; and accessibility to frequently-visited places, especially to job locations.

At any one point in time, these characteristics are unique to each neighborhood. In fact, one can define a "neighborhood" as a group of housing units located within a given area and sharing a very similar set of these demand-differentiating characteristics. Expressed somewhat differently, at any given time each type of neighborhood has its own particular pattern of housing demand. This pattern is of course reflected by obtainable rents and sales prices, which are thus very significant indicators of a neighborhood's general "quality."

Rent levels can also suggest something about how "stable" a neighborhood is. Where rents are low and the occupants cannot pay much, there is a real danger that landlords will not invest enough in maintenance. This danger is particularly acute if very few similarly low-priced vacant units are available, since the landlord then has less need to compete for the low-income tenants by investing in maintenance. When some landlords on a block visibly "undermaintain" their housing, this tends to lower the rents owners of adjacent properties can get. This in turn makes it harder for these adjacent owners to pay for improvements, and the deterioration process continues to spread.

Whenever some basic features of an area are changed, in socio-economic terms it will really become a different "neighborhood," with a different demand pattern. For example, a redevelopment project might radically improve the environment in an old residential area, and greatly increase the rents and sale prices that can be obtained for housing there.

BART'S OWN DIRECT IMPACTS

BART itself will have several types of direct impacts.

First, it will act to reduce "space impedance," especially for sites near the stations. This simply means that it will take significantly less time to get there than it used to, at least for many people.

Second, BART will increase the "advertising" value of certain locations because it will mean more, and in some cases more affluent, passers-by. This will be especially so right at the stations, where commuters transferring from car or bus to train migh be induced to drop in and buy something. Probably, however, there will also be some increase in the advertising value of readily visible properties alon the BART line itself -- or along important routes taken by commuters going to the stations.

BART will also produce, or has already caused, "physical environmental" impacts (where it brings changes in visual amenity or noise level); "disrupti impacts (where BART construction has displaced peopl and disrupted old local activity patterns); and "boundary" impacts (where the BART line has become a barrier between very different neighborhoods).

Although some of these impacts are certainly favorab from a developer's viewpoint, in no case will new development occur solely or automatically because of BART. Whether new investment occurs around a statio or how much, will always depend on whether and how BART's own direct impacts interact with the other fa tors discussed earlier -- most importantly those whi reflect the surrounding area's own social, economic, and environmental characteristics.

BART will trigger dramatic change only in those situ tions where the local forces that resist change are weak and/or there are very strong change-seeking for which BART's own impacts can intensify. In terms of land economics, the change-resisting forces are the costs either of acquiring and removing old land uses and building new ones, or of remodeling existing fac lities to suit. The change-seeking forces (or "push factors") are the regional or city-wide, but more importantly the localized, demand for housing and non-residential space.

Chapter 2

Existing Conditions

The previous chapter emphasized that the economic effects of any BART station will depend very heavily on the surrounding area's own physical and socioeconomic characteristics. This chapter analyses these conditions as they presently exist in Rockridge.

In general Rockridge is a middle-income area of single-family houses, with small, "low-keyed" commercial facilities and some apartments. It has small lots and streets, but also a dominant, above grade and elevated freeway bisecting it. Importantly, Rockridge has a strong sense of identity, and residents typically describe it as an interesting and desirable community.

LAND USE

General Pattern. Map A shows the predominant pattern of existing land uses in the study area. Since this map has been generalized for the sake of readability, it cannot show minor lot-by-lot variations or mixtures of different uses. Actually, for example, in the "commercial" area along College there are often residences above, or even between, the stores. In the "single-family residential"sections--except for those beyond Broadway and northeast of the College of St. Albert--there is commonly at least a light sprinkling of two-family or even multi-family dwellings.

It is clear nonetheless that most residential streets are mainly single-family. Against this background, a few clusters of higher-density housing stand out. These include concentrations along Broadway Terrace and sections of Claremont and Miles Avenues and Broadway, and a few clusters near the station such as on Birch Court.

Commercial uses occupy most of College Avenue, although the interesting breaks in this pattern between Lawton Avenue and Broadway should be noted. Commercial uses also occur at various places along Claremont and Broadway. Just outside the study area, immediately south of the California College of Arts and Crafts, is the Rockridge Shopping Center.

Institutional and public uses include the two colleges already mentioned, some local schools and small parks, and (straddling Broadway Terrace and Monroe Street) the spacious grounds of the Claremont Country Club.

Lot Sizes. In most of Rockridge, residential lot sizes are typically small. This is especially so in the sections west of Broadway south of the freeway, where parcels of about 4,000 square feet or even smaller are common. Some of the parcels in the triangular area bounded by Claremont, College, and the freeway are significantly larger. (Here there are also a few cases where adjacent small lots are in one ownership.) Moreover, parcels in Rockridge's northeast corner area (east of College north of the freeway) and southeast corner (beyond Broadway) are generally somewhat larger.

Few commercial parcels are large, with some obvious exceptions like the Safeway and Lucky supermarkets. The triangular block bounded by College, Shafter, and Forest contains a number of parcels in single ownership.

Vacant Land. There is almost no vacant land in Rockridge--certainly no parcels big enough to appear on Map A. Three small but prominent vacant lots along College might be mentioned, though: (1) a small triangle at Shafter Avenue directly facing the BART station, (2) a corner parcel at Chabot Road, and (3) another one at College and Harwood. The former gas station site at Broadway and Taft is also worth noting.

Recent Construction. There has been very little new construction in the last six years, although during this time parts of the Rockridge Shopping Center were completed just to the south. Other significant projects have included: (1) additions to the California College of Arts and Crafts, (2) a 38-unit senior citizens housing project at Manila and College, (3) a low-rise apartment building on Chabot just east of College, and (4) some "turnkey" public housing units between Claremont and Telegraph Avenue.

Besides this new construction, various commercial buildings along College have been remodeled in recent years.

COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES

Commercial development along College largely consists of small stores which do not need a great deal of parking. Most are in older buildings.

Retail establishments include both (1) those offerin convenience-type goods or services to Rockridge and adjacent neighborhoods and (2) those serving a much wider, more specialized market. It is many of the latter type which, in recent years, have produced what might be called a "Union Street" theme in Rockridge. As on that popular San Francisco shopping street, there has developed an important pattern of small shops oriented to interior decoration, antique and arts and crafts, along with some tea or coffee shops and bookstores.

Interspersed between or above the dominant retail us are various small offices. These are in general locally oriented ones, such as real estate or doctors' offices.

There are significant variations between the differe sections of College. The northern reach, especially near Claremont, is the most active--partly because o its accessibility to higher income areas. Establishments include a fairly new Safeway and Bank of Americ branch, a savings and loan office, a large ice cream parlor and manufacturer, and many others of both the convenience and "Union Street" types.

The sections just above and below the BART station are generally active, again featuring both convenien stores (notably a Lucky supermarket) and specialized ones. The section below the station, down to about Lawton Street, is what was left of the old "Chimes" shopping cluster after the freeway came through. Th activity pattern here was severely disrupted by the freeway, and this section has just begun to revive.

On the lower portion of College, the commercial pattern thins out noticeably in the block near Manila. Below this is a small but more intensive cluster right at College and Broadway, which benefits from its proximity to the College of Arts and Crafts.

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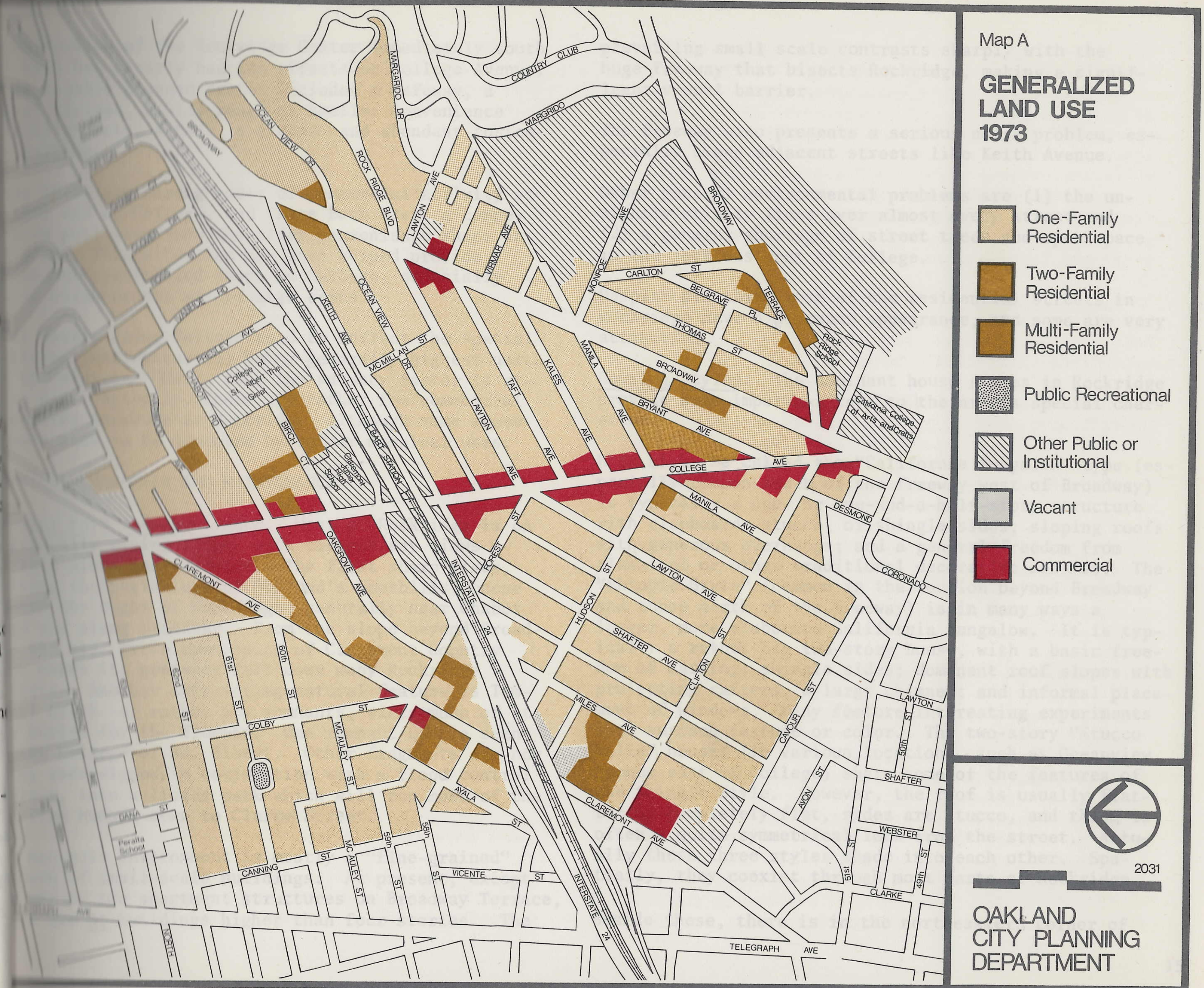

Map A

GENERALIZED LAND USE 1973

- ▨ One-Family Residential
- ▨ Two-Family Residential
- ▨ Multi-Family Residential
- ▨ Public Recreational
- ▨ Other Public or Institutional
- ☐ Vacant
- 🟥 Commercial

OAKLAND CITY PLANNING DEPARTMENT

nstruction of the Rockridge Center immediately south
here has clearly had its effects on College Avenue.
his sizable planned center includes a Safeway, a
rge Payless, a wide range of smaller convenience
tablishments, a bank, a cinema--and abundant custom-
parking.

us there are strong nodes of commercial activity at
ther end of College, and these both exert a compe-
tive pull away from the older convenience shops in
tween. This situation may have helped provide
ace for specialized shops on College, especially
ose which cannot afford high rents.

nt levels along College tend to reflect the spatial
tterns just discussed, being generally highest north
the station. Here, too, the vacancy factor is al-
st nil. Actually, there are rather few commercial
cancies anywhere in Rockridge--although some store-
onts seem to be occupied by rather marginal uses.

YSICAL CHARACTER AND MAINTENANCE

neral Form and Appearance. Most of Rockridge is on
radually rising slope, with distant Bay views
sible along many streets. The first sharp rises,
king the beginnings of Oakland's foothills, occur
ward the edges of Rockridge--generally near Chabot
d and along Broadway. From the slope beyond Broad-
y the big, green open space of Claremont Country
b makes its presence felt down many Rockridge
eets. Another interesting natural feature is Tem-
al Creek--or rather its remnants, since much of it
buried for the freeway. One remnant can be seen
the College of St. Albert. Other fragments are now
ng redeveloped, in conjunction with a flood control
ject, into a linear park which will run most of the
from Hudson down to Clarke Street.

man-made environment is mostly a "fine-grained"
tern of small-scale buildings. At present, except
one or two apartment structures on Broadway Terrace,
re are no buildings higher than four stories. The prevailing small scale contrasts sharply with the huge freeway that bisects Rockridge, making a significant visual barrier.

The freeway also presents a serious noise problem, especially along adjacent streets like Keith Avenue.

Other general environmental problems are (1) the unsightly utility lines over almost every street and (2) a general shortage of street trees and open space in the sections west of College.

Despite all this, most of the residential streets in Rockridge have a pleasant appearance, and some are very attractive.

Housing Styles. The dominant house styles in Rockridge provide some important keys to the area's special character.

What might be called the "California Bungalow" type (especially common south of the freeway west of Broadway) is typically a one- or one-and-a-half-story structure with clapboard, stucco, or shingle sides; sloping roofs with generous overhangs; and a general freedom from classical or other traditional decorative details. The "Shingle Style" (common in the section beyond Broadway and those north of the freeway) is in many ways a larger, more elaborate California Bungalow. It is typically a rather big two-story house, with a basic freedom of massing; shingle sides; dominant roof slopes with projecting rafters; a large chimney; and informal placement of windows. Many feature interesting experiments with surface texture or color. The two-story "Stucco Villa" houses (in various locations, such as Oceanview Avenue east of College) share some of the features of the Shingle Style. However, the roof is usually flatter or completely flat, sides are stucco, and there is often a quite symmetrical look from the street. Actually these three styles shade into each other. Spatially, they coexist through most parts of Rockridge.

Beside these, there is in the northeastern corner of

Rockridge a pattern of houses more consciously designed to evoke some historic style. Their surface style varies greatly, from Spanish to Tudor to Norman.

Apartment buildings also contribute to the visual character of Rockridge. Many of the pre-war ones are white stucco in a vaguely Spanish or Italian idiom (with a tile roof, corner stairtower, or elaborate front doorway). The post-war low-rise apartments are generally plainer; in fact some of them richly deserve the term "stucco box."

Housing Maintenance. By and large, housing in Rockridge--especially east of College--seems to be well maintained at present. However, there are apparent exceptions which should be noted.

The section west of Claremont consists largely of older houses. Although these generally seem to be holding up well, some are beginning to show exterior signs of deterioration. (There are similar signs of deterioration in the adjacent area just west of Rockridge, along and below Telegraph Avenue.)

In the section south of the freeway and west of College, the houses are probably somewhat newer on the average. Although most of these seem to be fairly well maintained, there are some untidy looking units which show signs of undermaintenance.

The Commercial Environment. Most commercial properties in Rockridge appear well maintained. Most of the buildings are rather standard early- or middle-Twentieth Century commercial architecture, with many of the older structures incorporating cornices or a few pilasters. The "Union Street" trend has produced commercial remodelings of varying quality. Some of these have brought out interesting details in the older structures through painting, or sought to achieve Art Nouveau or psychedelic effects with signs and window display.

By and large, signing and storefronts are less imaginative and more minimal along the lower portion o
College, at least between Lawton and Clifton. Her
too, some commercial properties are untidily maintained.

One general problem is posed by unsightly billboar
including a cluster around the otherwise attractiv
College-Claremont intersection and a whole series o
them marching along the lower reach of College Ave

Immediate Station Environs. Although the station
structure is handsome enough, the spaces below it
rather cold, empty, and uninviting. Furthermore,
is quite noisy in the plazas, as the long concrete
overpass traps and amplifies the sound of vehicles
passing through on College. Although one can see
under this section of the freeway, somewhat reduci
its barrier effect, there is no clear relationship
between the station and surrounding activities.

PUBLIC FACILITIES

Park and Recreation Facilities. Most of Rockridge
quite deficient in public park and recreation faci
ities.

The small playground of Claremont Junior High Scho
is presently the only public outdoor recreation sp
near the station. Farther east the Chabot-Rockrid
Recreation Area offers a number of facilities, inc
ing a ball field and two tennis courts. However,
is a long way from most of Rockridge.

Bushrod Recreation Center (just below Telegraph Av
outside the study area) is large and has a variety
facilities, but it needs improvements and is far f
most of Rockridge.

Colby Park (on 61st Street) is inside Rockridge, b
it has no playground equipment. Its turf area is
used informally for ball games, but it is really t
small for this. Farther south the planned Temesca
Creek Park, which has already been mentioned, will

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help--even though much of it will be only a narrow strip along the creek. In the section east of Broadway, "Rockridge Park" (on Rockridge Boulevard) is really just a landscaped traffic island.

Finally, there are the playgrounds of Rockridge and Peralta Schools, but these are small and peripheral to most of Rockridge.

Schools. The Oakland Public Schools Master Plan study has been looking at the complex of schools generally in and around Rockridge--that is, Claremont, Chabot, Rockridge, Peralta, Emerson Elementary School, Wilson Junior High School, and Oakland Technical High School. The possibility of combining sites and selling surplus ones has been considered--and here it should be commented that Claremont's strategic site might be very attractive to buyers. However, there has been considerable resistance to closing any site. As of this writing, a tentative consensus has been reached that all the sites will remain but that some grades will be reassigned among them.

Assuming that Claremont Junior High stays, its main building will have to be replaced to meet State earthquake safety standards.

Other Facilities. The City's Rockridge Branch Library is located in a small, rented space at College and Miles right across from the BART station. In recent studies of the Oakland library system, Rockridge has been one of several branch libraries suggested for closing. In fact, the City attempted to close the library in 1971, but kept it open because of citizen opposition.

There are also two fire stations in the general area, Engine 19 on Miles near the BART station, and Engine 8 on 51st Street near Telegraph.

IMAGE

Another factor affecting any area's "image" is the local crime rate.

Only some broad statements are possible here. In general crime rates in Rockridge have been below the citywide ones, at least when the sections west of Claremont are excluded. However, there seem to have been some recent increases east of Claremont. In particular merchants have complained about crimes along College, including purse-snatchings and burglaries.

CIRCULATION

Trafficways. The street pattern in Rockridge involves a freeway and several diagonally intersecting streets slicing across various grids of narrow residential streets. (See Map B.)

For freeway travelers from the east, direct off- and on-ramps are provided to and from Broadway, the Keith-Miles one-way couplet which serves the BART station, and Telegraph Avenue. Access from the west is less satisfactory. Even though ramps are provided at Claremont Avenue (and at upper Broadway-Patton Street), the route from Claremont to the station along such narrow streets as Clifton is rather confusing. On a larger scale, freeway access to the Rockridge station is difficult from the Montclair, Piedmont Pines, and Piedmont sections of its assumed "service area," because the Landvale Interchange does not provide a good connection from the Warren Freeway to the Grove-Shafter Freeway.

College, Claremont, Broadway, and Broadway Terrace--as well as Telegraph Avenue just west of the study area--function as "arterial streets," carrying relatively long-distance traffic. Alcatraz, Colby Street, Shafter Avenue, Chabot Road, Keith and Miles Avenues, Forest, Monroe, and part of Manial are considered "collector streets," carrying traffic from local streets to arterials. The remaining trafficways are supposed to be "local streets," mainly providing access to abutting properties.

In 1972 (the latest traffic count available), College Avenue carried about 14,000 vehicles a day north of the BART station and just south of it, and about 10,000 near the intersection of College and Broadway. These are high figures, considering that the street's capacity is limited to two moving lanes for most of its length.

Claremont Avenue (near Forest) accommodated about 12,000 vehicles per day, and Broadway (near Kales) about the same, but they both have a greater capacity than College Avenue. Broadway Terrace handled 6,850.

Traffic figures are generally much less on the collectors and local streets. So-called local streets, though, vary considerably in the amount of traffic they carry. For example, Hudson Street has a surprisingly high volume--partly because many motorists seem to use it to get to the freeway.

At the present there is relatively severe rush-hour congestion along portions of College--especially in the Elmwood Shopping District of Berkeley, in the Claremont-Alcatraz section of Rockridge, and to some extent at Keith and Miles. (Although systematic traffic checks have not been made since the national "energy crisis" developed in late 1973, threatening cutbacks in auto travel, it would seem that this congestion along College Avenue has by no means disappeared.)

Another common problem in Rockridge is the invasion of residential streets by through, and/or speedy, traffic. The general pattern of diagonal major streets invites short-cuts between them, especially to bypass congested College Avenue. Kales, Taft, and Ocean View Avenues, for example, apparently suffer from this. Moreover, the location of the Claremont Avenue freeway ramps, may produce some through traffic on Clifton and Hudson Streets.

The diagonal arterials also create many acute-angle intersections, sometimes involving as many as four different streets, and these pose difficult and dangerous traffic situations. Examples of this typ of intersection can be found along College Avenue south of the station, along Claremont Avenue (inclu ing its intersection with College), and along upper Broadway.

Parking. Another problem in Rockridge is parking. Only a few commercial establishments provide off-street parking. Furthermore, there are no parking meters anywhere in Rockridge, and no public parking except for the BART lot. Along most of College the parking situation at present appears tolerable: a shopper can generally find a space nearby, at least on a side street. However, the parking problem see more pronounced in the intensive business section near Claremont and Chabot Road.

Although in most residential sections curb parking currently seems adequate, some blocks have overflow curb parking from nearby commercial areas (or in th case of Birch Court, from Claremont Junior High Sch Moreover, many houses in sections with small lots h either an old garage which is too small or no garag at all, so that residents must park on the street. For these reasons, the surplus curb capacity in som sections may not be great.

Public Transit. Present patronage at the Rockridge station is only about 1,100 trips per day. However BART estimates that in 1975, when it will probably be in full operation, daily patronage will be about 3,800. The majority of riders will probably be pe living in Rockridge or other neighborhoods in the station's "service area"; in other words, Rockridge will be primarily an "origin" station.

In general, Rockridge is well served by AC Transit buses. There is excellent direct service to both downtown Oakland and Berkeley along College Avenue, and good service along Telegraph. There is also regular bus service to downtown Oakland along Broa

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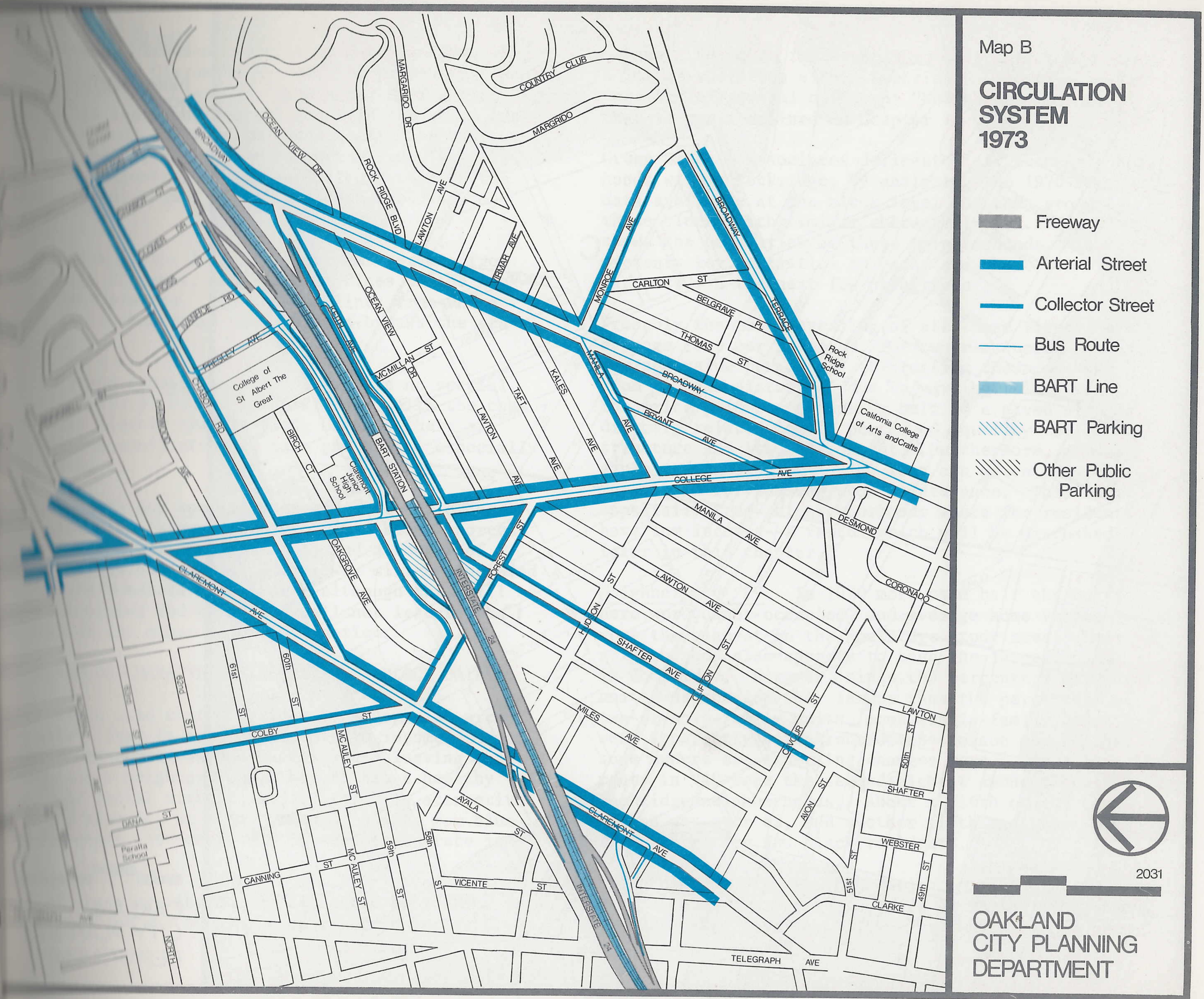
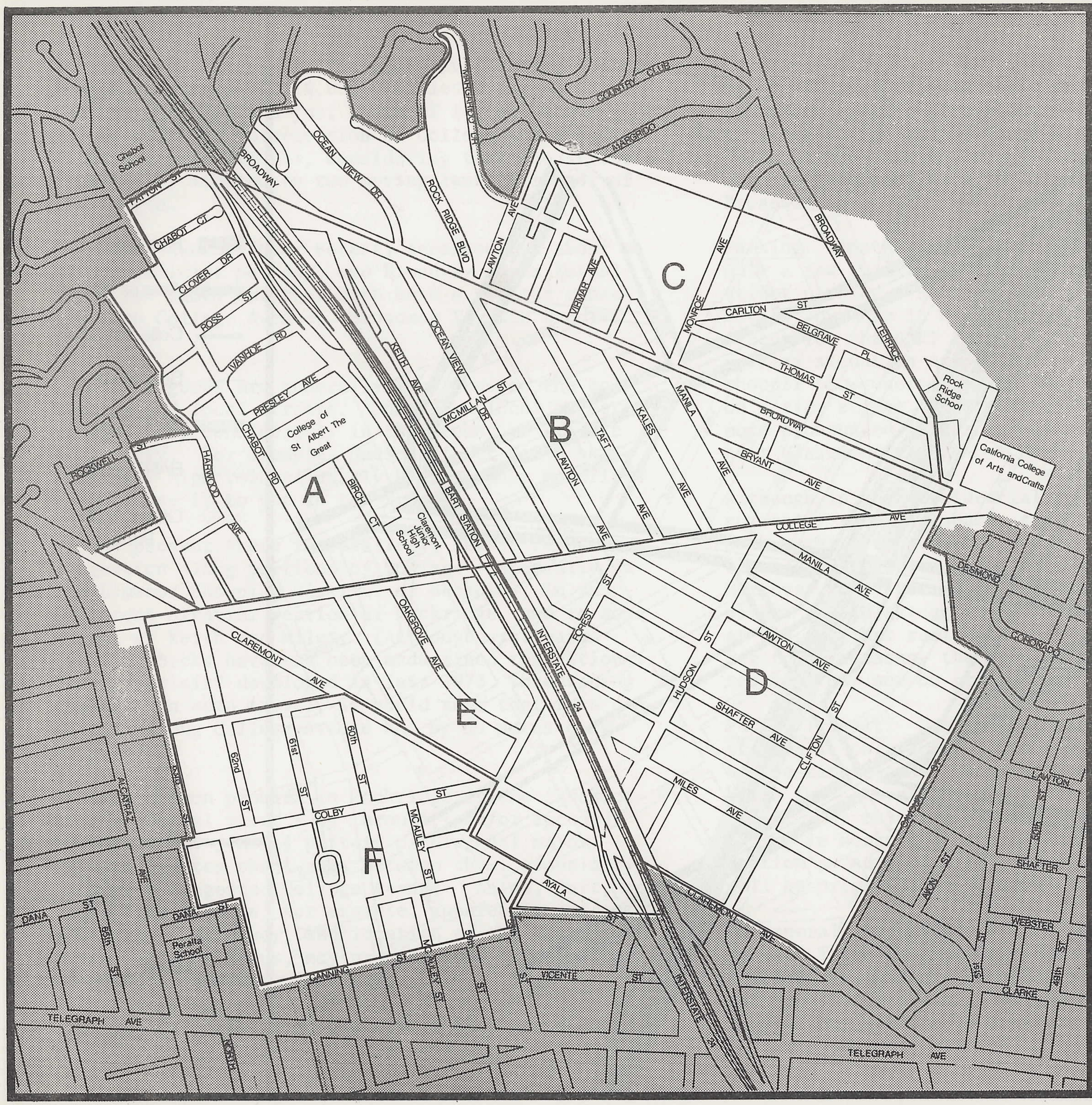


Map B

CIRCULATION SYSTEM 1973

OAKLAND
CITY PLANNING
DEPARTMENT



Map C

Neighborhoods, 1973

OAKLAND
CITY PLANNING
DEPARTMENT

Bay Terrace. Transbay service to San Francisco is provided along Claremont Avenue. AC presently plans to continue this Claremont line after BART begins service to San Francisco--at least in the short run--but to include a detour to connect with the BART station. Finally, a week-day connector line (the 17) runs along Alcatraz Avenue to College, then to the BART station, Chabot School and down Broadway to College.

One problem is the lack of feeder bus service from Montclair, Piedmont, and Piedmont Pines to the Rockridge BART station. All the bus lines from those parts of the Rockridge service area bypass the station.

Bikeways and Pedestrianways. There are no special bicycle lanes or routes in Rockridge. With the considerable bicycle traffic along College there are significant conflicts with cars and buses, especially at rush hour.

Nor are there any special pedestrian routes other than sidewalks (except for an old mid-block shortcut between Oak Grove and Claremont, and a couple of others beyond Broadway). A trailway will be included in the new Temescal Creek Park, although this will be rather isolated and by itself will not lead to the station or any other major destination.

NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS BASED ON BLOCK DATA

It is often said that Rockridge is a "special area," especially: that it is a stable middle-income area at a time when middle-income families are leaving many of Oakland's neighborhoods; that it has a healthy degree of racial mixture; and that, while attractive to professionals, it also provides housing for blue-collar people, students, and others of moderate incomes.

Many of these hypotheses can be tested by looking at the population and housing data reported in the U. S. Census. Doing so immediately reveals that there is a lot of variation within Rockridge. The area really consists of several different "Neighborhoods," as that term was defined in Chapter 1.

Gruen Gruen + Associates delineated six such neighborhoods within Rockridge, by analyzing the 1970 Census data available at the block level and then grouping those blocks with similar characteristics. Map C shows the boundaries of these neighborhoods. Table 3 presents key statistics on each, and these are briefly discussed in the next few paragraphs.

Probably the most revealing of all these figures are average rent per room and, for owner-occupied houses, average value per room. (Expressing these as "per room" avoids distortion due to varying unit sizes.) The price paid for a housing unit of a given size is directly related to the perceived "quality" of the structure and its environment. Furthermore, as was explained in Chapter 1, low rent can often be a warning signal for housing undermaintenance. This is especially true in neighborhoods where the residents have low incomes--a factor which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Neighborhood "A". In 1970 more than half the units here were owner-occupied, and average home values were the highest in the Rockridge study area. This neighborhood also appears to have the largest homes in Rockridge. However, since the percentage of rental units was considerably larger than the percentage of two-or-more-family units, some single-family houses were apparently being rented; one reason may be that some owners are expecting changes here. Overall, rents in "A" were the second highest among the six Rockridge neighborhoods. About a fifth of the population was over 62, and another fifth was under 18. There were very few black residents.

Neighborhood "B". The population characteristics here are quite similar to those of "A". On the other hand, the data show that the housing is generally not as

Table 3

SELECTED POPULATION AND HOUSING DATA BY NEIGHBORHOOD: ROCKRIDGE STUDY AREA, 1970

	Neighborhood					
	A	B	C	D	E	F
Total Housing Units	468	771	479	1,044	607	53
Average Number of Housing Units per Block	42.6	77.1	31.9	45.4	67.4	38.
Per Cent in One-Unit Structures[a]	65.3	50.7	66.0	64.9	29.2	70.
Per Cent in Two-or-More-Unit Structures	34.6	49.3	34.0	35.1	70.8	29.
Average Number of Occupied Units per Block	40.9	74.4	30.9	43.3	66.1	36.
Per Cent Owner-Occupied	56.4	44.7	61.6	50.5	25.4	62.
Per Cent Renter-Occupied	43.6	55.2	38.4	49.5	74.6	37.
Median Home Value ($)[b]	31,260	23,600	28,190	20,370	25,220	20,93
Median Home Value per Room ($)[b]	4,790	4,010	4,510	3,700	4,390	3,54
Median Monthly Contract Rent ($)	144.20	116.00	192.70	112.70	115.30	118.6
Median Monthly Contract Rent per Room ($)	38.40	32.30	47.50	29.60	34.80	27.1
Average Rooms per Unit (Owner-Occupied)	6.52	5.88	6.25	5.51	5.75	5.9
Average Rooms per Unit (Renter-Occupied)	3.75	3.59	4.05	3.80	3.32	4.3
Per Cent Black (Owner-Occupied Units)	1.1	1.2	0.4	3.4	2.1	24.
Per Cent Black (Renter-Occupied Units)	1.5	3.4	0.0	3.0	6.0	13.
Total Population	1,139	1,657	1,200	2,178	1,134	1,45
Per Cent Black	1.8	2.0	1.5	10.2	10.6	50.
Per Cent Under 18	22.3	23.4	19.3	19.3	17.1	32.
Per Cent 62 or Over	21.0	22.7	31.1	20.7	24.4	13.

Source: Gruen Gruen + Associates, Economic and Social Analysis of Three Oakland BART Station Areas: MacArth Rockridge, Fruitvale, based on block data from 1970 U.S. Census of Population and Housing.

a. Includes row, duplex, and similar units separated by a wall extending from ground to roof.

b. Only covers single-family houses with no other unit, or business, on same property.

E	F
607	53
67.4	38.
29.2	70.
70.8	29.
66.1	36.
25.4	62.
74.6	37.
5,220	20,9
4,390	3,5
15.30	118.
34.80	27.
5.75	5.
3.32	4.
2.1	24
6.0	13
1,134	1,4
10.6	50
17.1	32
24.4	13

reas: MacArt

desirable. In 1970 average rent and home value per room ranked fourth among the six Rockridge neighborhoods. A majority of the housing here was in one-unit structures, but only 44.7 percent of all units were owner-occupied--indicating again that some single family homes are being rented.

Neighborhood "C". This neighborhood is very similar to "A", although the two neighborhoods are separated geographically. Home values in 1970 were high, and rents were the highest of any neighborhood in Rockridge. (One reason may be that many of the rental units here are new and more modern.) About two-thirds of the units were in one-unit structures and almost as high a proportion were owner-occupied. Only 1.5 percent of the population was black, the smallest proportion for any neighborhood. Less than a fifth of the residents were under 18 but nearly a third were over 62 (easily the highest of any Rockridge neighborhood). This suggests that ownerships of many single-family units here may change in the near future.

Neighborhood "D". The average home value per room in "D" was the second lowest within the study area, and the average rent per room was the third lowest. About two-thirds of the units were one-family but only half of all units were owner-occupied. This, along with the relatively low values and rents, suggests some instability within this neighborhood. On the other hand, "D" had a larger percentage of working age (18-61) residents than "A", "B", or "C". Slightly over 10 percent of residents were black, a substantially higher proportion than in the three neighborhoods east of College Avenue.

Neighborhood "E". Of all Rockridge neighborhoods, this one had the biggest percentage both of renter-occupied units and of units in two-or-more-family structures. Average home value and rent per room were higher than in "D" and even "B". Neighborhood "E" had the lowest percentage of residents under 18, but the second highest proportion of residents over 62. As in "D", somewhat over 10 percent of the population was black.

Neighborhood "F". In marked contrast to "E", Neighborhood "F" had the highest percentage of both one-family and owner-occupied units. Yet average rent and value per room were the lowest in the Rockridge study area. Furthermore, the population in "F" differed significantly from that of the other neighborhoods. A much bigger proportion of residents here were under 18, and a much smaller proportion were over 62. More than half the population was black, a much higher percentage than in any other neighborhood.

Internal Boundaries and Outside Relationships. From the above analysis, it appears that certain physical boundaries within Rockridge tend to separate people with different social and economic characteristics. For example, the freeway and Broadway serve as rough economic boundaries, while Claremont Avenue is both an economic and a racial boundary. That is, values and rents per room are generally lower in "B", "D", and "F" than they are in "A", "C", and "E"; and the percentage of black residents in "F" is much higher than in any other neighborhood.

For the most part, these edges are not yet sharp. For example, Neighborhoods "D" and "E" are intermediate racially. However, there is danger that these rough boundaries could become definite social, economic, and racial "walls" in the future.

Besides considering these internal divisions, one can look at Rockridge's neighborhoods in light of the areas beyond them. Thus both "A" and "C" seem to identify with the hill sections above. "F" is in some ways like the adjacent neighborhoods along and beyond Telegraph Avenue to the west, and up to Berkeley on the north. The southwestern part of "D" shades off into similar portions of "Temescal" to the southwest. This leaves "E", "B", and part of "D" in the middle, with pressures for or against change coming from all around. One gets a sense of these pressures literally meeting right near the station.

GENERAL SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS AND CHANGES

Further insights on Rockridge and its residents can be obtained by evaluating the social and economic data reported by the large areas called "census tracts." most of this information is in fact unavailable for the small census blocks which were used above to define "neighborhoods." The neighborhoods fall within the 1970 census tracts as follows:

1970 Census Tract	Neighborhoods Within Tract
4002	A, most of E
4003	B, D
4004	F, some of E
4043	C

Unfortunately, each of these tracts also includes sections outside any of the neighborhoods. This is especially true for Tract 4002, which extends to Telegraph Avenue on the west and the Berkeley line on the north--and even more so for Tract 4043, which reaches all the way up to the Warren Freeway.

Despite these boundary differences, the tract data are related to the neighborhoods in the following discussion. This obviously relies on the assumption that a neighborhood's characteristics do not vary significantly from those of the larger census tract containing it.

Also, in some cases general comparisons between 1960 and 1970 tract figures are made below. Since tract boundaries changed quite drastically between those two years, comparable 1960 data had to be estimated.

Total Population and Racial Composition. The total population of Rockridge declined somewhat between 1960 and 1970, due largely to displacement by the freeway. It is interesting that total population decreased faster than did the total number of housing units. In other words, avarage household size also decreased.

The same period also saw a significant racial chan Looking at Tracts 4002, 4003, and 4004 combined, th white population decreased roughly 25 percent, the black population increased about 275 percent, and other nonwhite population grew 61 percent. These trends were in the same direction as for Oakland a whole, although the rates of change were different. However, in 1970 Rockridge was still about 80 perc white, compared with 60 percent city-wide--and as shown earlier, the white percentage was far higher some neighborhoods within Rockridge.

Family and Age Characteristics. In 1970, in all Ro ridge neighborhoods, the number of family househol exceeded the number of single or other unrelated individual households. However, the percentage of families with children under 18 was below the city average (though only slightly below it in 4004); so was the average number of children per family.

The age characteristics of the population are also very interesting. In 1970 Rockridge, compared with Oakland as a whole, had fewer residents in the 0-15 and 45-64 age brackets. In fact, all Rockridge tra except 4004 had a median age higher than that for Oakland as a whole, although between 1960 and 1970 median age had declined faster in all Rockridge tra than city-wide. This indicates an increase in sing and young married couples without children. If thi trend continues, it may have an effect on the kinds of facilities desired by residents.

Mobility. The 1970 data showed a relatively "stabl population. Excluding Tract 4043, about half of th population--slightly more than for Oakland as a who --had lived in the same place for at least five yea Behind this overall figure there are interesting di ferences by tract, with 4004 having somewhat more mobility than the city as a whole and with 4003 and especially 4002 having somewhat less. (In 4043 "mobility" was even less, with nearly two-thirds of th residents having stayed at the same address for five years.) In other words, the highest percentages of residents who have remained in Rockridge are in the more desirable neighborhoods with higher housing prices. So where there is lack of mobility, it is apparently through personal choice rather than economic necessity.

Incomes and Housing Expenditures. In 1969, as table 4 shows, median family incomes in most of Rockridge were higher than for the city as a whole. The tract which includes Neighborhood "C" had the highest family incomes, though again it should be noted that this tract also includes large sections outside Rockridge. This was followed by the tract covering "A" and "E", then the one which includes "B" and "D". It is important to note that family incomes were lowest in the tract which covers Neighborhood "F", where, ironically, average family size was the highest. Here, in fact, the median income was actually below the city-wide average. The incomes of unrelated individuals were lowest in "C", followed by "B" and "D". One reason may be that students at the California College of Arts and Crafts, or at Berkeley, live in these neighborhoods.

For the most part, Rockridge held its position relative to the city-wide family income between 1959 (the year reported in the 1960 Census) and 1969. Excluding Tract 4043, median family income was about 110 percent of the city's in 1959 and 108 percent in 1969. However, these overall figures conceal a relative improvement in income position for Tracts 4002 and 4003, offset by a decline in relative position for Tract 4004. If this significant trend continues, Neighborhood "F" will come to differ even more, both economically and socially, from the rest of Rockridge.

Table 4

MEDIAN INCOMES BY CENSUS TRACT:
ROCKRIDGE STUDY AREA, 1969

Census Tract	Neighborhoods Within Tract	Median Income ($) Families	Median Income ($) Unrelated Individuals	Median Income ($) Families and Unrelated Individuals
4002	A, most of E	12,750	5,179	8,927
4003	B,D	10,173	2,995	5,898
4004	F, some of E	9,028	3,446	5,588
4043	C	16,568	2,609	11,794
Oakland City-Wide	-	9,626	3,303	6,787

Source: Gruen Gruen + Associates, Economic and Social Analysis of Three Oakland BART Station Areas: MacArthur, Rockridge, Fruitvale, based on 1970 U. S. Census of Population and Housing.

The sources of residents' incomes are also of interest. In 1969 about 40 percent of all families in Tract 4004 were at least partially dependent on social security or welfare payments, and 30 percent in the other tracts. This leaves a large number of working families not dependent on such payments. In fact, about 29 percent of the families in Tract 4002 were self-employed, and 26 percent in 4043--quite high proportions compared to a city-wide figure of about 11 percent. Furthermore, all the Rockridge tracts showed a considerably higher percentage of working people holding professional or managerial positions than for Oakland as a whole. All in all, Rockridge does seem to have the potential to remain a middle-income community.

Place of Work and Means of Transportation. Certain figures in the Census shed special light on BART's potential benefit to the kinds of people who now live in Rockridge. The 1970 data on "place of work" showed the percentage of residents in Tracts 4003 or 4004 who worked in downtown Oakland or San Francisco to be slightly below the city average--but much higher in the other, generally higher-income tracts. (This is important because BART is most strongly oriented toward these two employment centers.) Furthermore, Rockridge in general has a higher percentage of residents working outside Oakland than does the City as a whole.

In 1970 well over half of all Rockridge workers went to their jobs by private automobile--about the same situation as city-wide. However, many residents took public transit to work, especially from Tract 4002 where nearly a fourth did so.

Chapter 3

Possible Types of Public Action

There are many kinds of public actions which might be carried out to alter the existing conditions, and economic forces, discussed in the last two chapters. An outline of the major types is offered below.

(The emphasis here is on the types of actions themselves rather than on specific existing programs through which they might be financed. Often, in fact, the necessary programs either do not exist yet or may be changed radically. Right now there is particular uncertainty about the future level and nature of federal assistance programs.)

Actually, some public actions can serve to prevent change rather than promote it. The public actions appropriate for any area really depend on what goals are desired there -- and, accordingly, Chapter 5 will demonstrate how actions could be "packaged" to promote various goals.

The choice of public actions will also be influenced by the private economic forces with which they must interact.

In situations where the potential for achieving the desired goals already largely exists in the private market, only rather inexpensive public actions may be required. These might include minor improvements to stimulate the operation of market forces, or rezonings to simply permit their operation. In contrast, there may be cases where the desired goals can be achieved only by drastic changes in existing conditions which radically change market demand. Very expensive public actions, such as large-scale redevelopment, would then be called for.

Another factor in selecting actions is the ability of public agencies to pay for them. The various governments which would probably be involved -- the City of Oakland, BART, AC Transit, and perhaps many others -- each have their own financial constraints. In particular the City is now facing a severe fiscal crisis, even with the current level of "general revenue sharing" money it is receiving from the Federal Government. The City is exploring all possible new revenue sources. Some help may come from the "special revenue sharing" proposals, now before Congress, which might provide money for such things as urban renewal, code enforcement, and new parks. Clearly, however, the City will be looking very closely at any proposals to spend more money -- and, of course, proposed expenditures in areas near the BART stations will have to compete with proposals for the rest of Oakland.

It should be added that many of the "public" actions described below (street tree planting, for example) could actually be done by private groups, individuals, or perhaps nonprofit corporations formed by property owners -- perhaps with public guidance and encouragement. In fact this kind of approach could be very very appropriate, in light of the public financial problems just described.

CHANGES IN DEVELOPMENT REGULATIONS

There are various types of controls over the location, intensity, and design of different land uses. Some are even non-public, such as subdivision deed restrictions. Public controls include the Oakland Housing and Building Codes and several related laws; these however deal mostly with interior design and occupancy and technical construction details. The city's subdivision ordinance does regulate physical development on a broader scale, but in built-up areas like those around the BART stations *zoning* is far more important.

The City's "zoning ordinance," found in the Oakland Planning Code, already contains a wide range of zones -- each intended for use in a different general type of area. Table 5 shows the key differences among these. Some are "basic" zones (either residential, commercial, industrial, or special) and some are "combining" zones, which can be plotted over the basic ones to add various supplemental provisions.

How an area is "zoned" may be very different from how the area is actually developed. For example, many older houses near the Fruitvale station are in "industrial" zones which prohibit new dwellings.

Changes in zoning controls (or conceivably in other development regulations) could be designed either to make a given type of new construction move feasible *or* to discourage it. They might also be designed to ensure that development in an area is attractive or harmonious with its surroundings.

Zoning may even compel removal of existing billboards and other objectionable uses, although this approach has been rarely used in Oakland and there is controversy as to how much removal can legally be required, and how quickly, and under what conditions. Zoning may also require an owner or developer to provide a reasonable amount of environmental improvements, su as street trees and a street-level plaza for a new office building.

However, zoning by itself cannot *make* new constructi happen, in the absence of sufficient demand in the private market.

Rezonings. Whenever it is in the public interest, a area can be rezoned. The basic zone can be changed, and a combining zone may be added if necessary.

"Downzoning" and "upzoning," which can affect constr tion feasibility, should be defined here. A change which would allow fewer housing units (or less nonre dential floor space) on a lot of a given size would a "downzoning" -- a rezoning from R-70 to R-50, for example. A change in the opposite direction would b an "upzoning."

Text Changes and Creation of New Zones. The text o existing zones, including the major provisions shown Table 5, of course, can be changed. In this way, certain zones might be retailored to make them more usable in some areas near the BART stations. Relev possibilities include:

1. Prohibiting or lowering the permitted density fo apartment buildings on small individual lots, to discourage narrow "shoebox" projects and to prov an incentive for land assembly.

2. Reducing the minimum size for "planned unit dev opment" density bonuses (now 60,000 square feet most zones) to provide a further incentive for land assembly.

3. Improving the site standards for apartments by quiring, for example, increased side setbacks o more on-site recreation space.

[illegible] are neither permitted [illegible] in R-60. [illegible] is conditionally [illegible] See "b" footnote in [illegible] per D. U." column.

[illegible] Zoning Code text for [illegible] provisions along zone [illegible] and for planned [illegible] and home [illegible] and other [illegible] and supplemental [illegible]

[illegible] of combining zones [illegible] those of the basic [illegible] are mapped over.

Table 5

KEY PROVISIONS OF ZONES IN OAKLAND PLANNING CODE, 1973

[illegible] of Zone	Permitted or Conditionally Permitted Uses[a] ■ Permitted ░ Permitted If Conditional Use Permit Granted																							Removal of Existing Billboards	Special Ground-Floor Use Controls	Special Regulations on Open Parking and Storage	Maximum Size of Certain Commercial Establishments (Sq. Ft.)		Design Review		Minimum Size of New Residential Lot (Sq. Ft.)	Residential Density: One Dwelling Unit per Indicated Sq.Ft. of Lot Area		Maximum Height (in Feet and Stories) or Floor-Area Ratio (FAR)		Required Off-Street Parking[a]			Minimum Front Yard (Feet)
	One-Family Dwelling	Two-Family Dwelling	Multi-Family Dwelling	Church	Public Office Building	Hospital	Doctors Office	Professional Office or Bank	Administrative Office	Business Service	Food or Convenience Sales	General Retail Sales	Gas Station	Auto Sales	Hotel or Motel	Research Service	Wholesaling	Custom Manufacturing	Light Manufacturing	General Manufacturing	Heavy Manufacturing	Mobile Home Park	Billboard				Food or Convenience Sales	Other	Construction or Alteration	Demolition		Regular Dwelling Unit	Efficiency Dwelling Unit	Residential	Nonresidential	Residential:Spaces per D.U.[h]	General Retail Sales: One Space per Indicated Sq. Ft. of Floor Area[i]	Administrative Office: One Space per Indicated Sq.Ft. of Floor Area[i]	
ESTATE	■			░	░																					X					25,000	25,000	25,000	35'(2 St.)	b	2			25
DENSITY	■			░	░																					X					12,000[b]	12,000	12,000	35'(2 St.)	b	2			20
FAMILY	■	■		░	░																					X					5,000	5,000	5,000	35'(2 St.)	b	2			20
APARTMENT	■	■	░	░	░	░																				X					5,000	2,500[c]	2,500[c]	35'(2 St.)	b	1.5			20
DENSITY	■	■	░	░	░	░																				X					4,000	1,500[d]	1,500[d]	35'(2 St.)	b	1			15
HIGH DENSITY	■	■	■	■	░	░																				X					4,000	800[e]	550[e]	g	1.50 FAR[e]	1			10
DENSITY	■	■	■	■	░	░	░	b																		X					4,000	450[f]	300[f]	g	2.25 FAR[f]	1			10
RISE APARTMENT	■	■	■	■	░	░	░	b			░															X	1,500				4,000	300[f]	200[f]	3.50 FAR[f]	3.50 FAR[f]	1			10
APARTMENT	■	■	■	■	░	░	░	b			░															X	1,500				4,000	150[e]	100[e]	7.00 FAR[e]	7.00 FAR[e]	1			10
RETAIL	■	■	░	■	░	░	■	■			■	■	░													X	5,000	5,000			4,000	1,500[d]	1,500[d]	45'(3 St.)	45'(3 St.)	1	600		
CENTER	░	░	░	■	■	░	■	■	░		■	■	░													X			X		4,000	1,500[d]	1,500[d]	45'(3 St.)	45'(3 St.)	1	400	600	
[illegible]	░	░	░	■	■	░	■	■	■	░	■															X	3,000				4,000	450[f]	300[f]	g	2.00 FAR[f]	1		600	10
THOROUGHFARE	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	░										■								4,000	450[f]	300[f]	g	45'(3 St.)	1	400	600	
SHOPPING	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	░										■			X					4,000	450[f]	300[f]		3.00 FAR[f]	1	600	900	
SERVICE	░	░	░	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	░	░		■	■								X		X					4,000	800[e]	550[e]		2.50 FAR[e]	1	400	600	b
THOROUGHFARE	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	░				■								4,000	450[f]	300[f]		3.00 FAR[f]	1	400	600	
SHOPPING	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	░	░	■	■	░	░	░				■			X					4,000	300[f]	200[f]	4.00 FAR[f]	4.00 FAR[f]	1	900	1,400	
BUSINESS SERVICE	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	░	░	■	■	■	■	░				■			X					4,000	150[e]	100[e]	7.00 FAR[e]	7.00 FAR[e]	1	900	1,400	
CORE	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	░	░	■	■	░	■	░				■			X					4,000	150[e]	100[e]	7.00 FAR[e]		1	No Req	No Req	
SERVICE				░						■	■		■	■		■	■	░	░				■				3,000												
IAL				░					■	■	■		░			■	■	■	■							X	3,000								0.50 FAR				10
[illegible]				░						■	■		░			■	■	■	■				■			X	3,000								45'(3 St.)				5
IAL				░						■	■		■	░		■	■	■	■	■			■				3,000												
[illegible]				░						■	■		■	░		■	■	■	■	■	░		■				3,000												
CENTER	■	■	■	■	░	■	■	░	░	░	░					░										X	3,000	3,000	X		4,000	300[f]	200[f]	4.00 FAR[f]	4.00 FAR[f]	1		600	10
CENTER	■	■	■	■	■	░	■	■	■	░	░	░	░		░	░										X					4,000	300[f]	200[f]	3.50 FAR[f]	3.50 FAR[f]	1	900	1,400	10
CENTER				░	░				■							■										X			X						0.50 FAR				50
REVIEW																													X										
ACCOMMODATION											░				■																								
HOME PARK																						■				X					b	b	b						b
VATION																													X	X									
STREET																								X	X				X										
FRONTAGE																									X														
[illegible]																										b			X					b	b				

a. See text for unlisted uses.
b. See text for details or exceptions.
c. Total of two units allowed on existing 4,000 sq. ft. lot. For senior citizen housing, density may be increased up to 75% if use permit granted.
d. Maximum one unit on existing lot smaller than 4,000 sq. ft. For other lots, see text for variations from 1/1,500 density ratio, depending on lot size. For senior citizen housing, density may be increased up to 75% if use permit granted.
e. Permitted density and FAR are 10% higher on corner lot; 10% on lot facing park. For senior citizen housing, density may be increased up to 75% if use permit granted.
f. Permitted density and FAR are 10% higher on corner lot; 10% on lot facing park. Density and FAR may be up to 50% more for high-rise housing, 75% for any senior citizen housing, if use permit granted.
g. Portions above 40 feet must be set back farther on some sides.
h. Requirement is 25% less within 600 feet of center of BART station; may be reduced as much as 75% for senior citizen housing anywhere with use permit.
i. None required if total nonresidential floor area on lot under 3,000 sq. ft. (10,000 in C-45, C-51, S-2). See text for existing buildings and uses in parking districts.

4. Requiring a conditional use permit for large apartment projects in R-60 and R-70, thereby ensuring a public hearing on each project and a chance for the neighborhood to object or suggest changes.

5. Prohibiting high-rise buildings in R-60, and possibly in R-70 and some commercial zones, or at least requiring use permit review for them.

6. Reducing the permitted housing density in C-30 and some other commercial zones.

7. Prohibiting billboards and generally improving the sign controls in various commercial zones, with mandatory removal of the most objectionable existing ones.

8. Improving the controls on open land uses, and even requiring landscaping or screening for existing ones, in some commercial and industrial zones.

9. Requiring all new developments to provide a specified number of street trees.

10. Not requiring parking for nonresidential buildings near BART stations.

(Also, wherever there are requirements for a use permit or design review, these could be backed up by special administrative guidelines to promote visual harmony with neighborhood character.)

It is even quite possible to create an entirely new zone where an area has sufficiently distinct needs. For example, an "S-11 Industrial Transition Combining Zone" -- prescribing review and high standards for all industries -- has been proposed recently for areas with mixtures of industry and old houses.

REDEVELOPMENT

Although the term "redevelopment" can have broader meanings, it is used here to refer to those public actions which involve the acquisition of land and demolition of any existing structures for the purpo of putting the land to a new use.

The California Community Redevelopment Law authoriz a redevelopment agency within a city-designated project area to acquire property for sale to developer The project area itself, however, must be blighted deteriorating. (Federal financial programs for redevelopment have even more elaborate requirements. Relocation payments and assistance must be given to those residents and businessmen who are displaced - or in some cases, replacement housing must be provided.

A redevelopment project can enhance the operation o market forces in two direct ways (in addition to indirectly stimulating investment on nearby propertie First, it may allow sale of land to a developer for than it cost. Second, even if there is no such "writedown," redevelopment can apply the public pow of eminent domain to compel the sale of property. Th can be quite important where it is necessary to assemble many small lots.

In some favorable market situations, it is conceiva that no writedown might be needed and even the publ "land assembly" function might be minimal. A rebui ing plan might be drawn up and private developers could then proceed to acquire land directly, with t public playing a back-up role ready to deal with occasional hold-outs.

A way of paying for related capital improvements is through "tax increments." The California Community Redevelopment Law allows a city to earmark the enti crease in property taxes in an urban renewal area f project costs. This approach may be promising in s situations near BART stations where assessment increases can be expected.

SERVATION AND REHABILITATION OF EXISTING STRUCTURES

ntrast to redevelopment, there are other kinds of blic actions which seek to preserve or upgrade existing structures.

e Enforcement. Relevant health and safety codes ude the Oakland Housing, Building, and Fire Codes various related County and State laws. Enforcement of such codes is done largely by the City's lding and Housing Department, the Fire Department, the County Health Department.

approach typically used in Oakland divides the ty into districts to which individual inspectors are ularly assigned. Within these extensive districts, orcement is now done mostly on a spot basis as violations are noticed by the inspectors or reported by idents or others.

ther procedure is "pre-sale inspection," although t presently has a limited impact since it only lies where a sale involves certain types of financing.

re comprehensive approach is "concentrated code rcement," which involves door-to-door inspection an entire area's residential buildings. So far, rts of this type have been done without Federally sted Code Enforcement (FACE) funds.

l these forms of code enforcement are presently ited as to how much quality improvement they can eve. Under existing code provisions, many older ings can be required only to meet those code ndards which existed when they were built. Besides, tle can be done sometimes about poor exterior ntenance -- such highly visible things as peeling t or weathered clapboards -- as long as a dwelling s structurally safe and keeps the elements out. Also, general, much less can be done about poorly maintained commercial properties than about housing.

rtheless, when a residential building is in serious violation of codes, and when the owner cannot or will not make the required repairs, the structure must be demolished at his expense. Although the City provides relocation referral services to the former occupants, no relocation payments are made. (Such payments would be required under FACE.)

Aside from demolitions, code enforcement has more subtle displacement effects which can be especially important in lower-income areas. Many homeowners have difficulty paying for improvements, and may even have to sell their house at a disadvantage and move. Furthermore, many owners of rental property may seek to recover the costs by raising rents, and their low-income tenants may be forced out. Possible actions designed to provide rehabilitation assistance, and prevent such displacement, are discussed later under "Financial Assistance Programs."

Rehabilitation Through Urban Renewal. Although code enforcement, too, causes "rehabilitation," this term is sometimes used in a more limited sense to refer to the kind of upgrading of structures done in one kind of urban renewal project. Such a project may have its own rehabilitation standards, which can be more restrictive than general City codes and require major improvements in exterior appearance.

Just as with an urban renewal project of the "redevelopment" type, the project area must meet certain criteria; it may or may not involve Federal financial assistance; and "tax increment" funding can be used. The Redevelopment Agency may acquire some properties, cause them to be rehabilitated, and then resell them. Sometimes a structure cannot be saved, and the Agency may have to clear and resell the property. In any case relocation payments must be made to the occupants of demolished structures (and in some cases replacement housing may have to be provided).

Again, this kind of rehabilitation can also displace people more indirectly -- because of the cost of rehabilitation or rent increases -- unless there are adequate assistance programs.

Other Rehabilitation Actions. Some Federal programs have provided money for:

1. Renovation of existing public housing ("public housing modernization").
2. Renovation of existing privately owned structures for use as public housing ("turnkey rehabilitation").
3. Renovation for moderate-income housing.

Aside from governmental programs, upgrading might in some cases be pursued on a voluntary, cooperative basis. For example, a neighborhood or a merchants' association might sponsor a "clean up, fix up" campaign.

ENVIRONMENTAL IMPROVEMENTS

"Environmental improvements" are those public actions which make an area's general environment (as opposed to individual structures) more livable and attractive, or at least serve to offset negative factors affecting the environment. In market terms, such improvements tend to increase sales prices and rents for private properties in the area.

One way of paying for some of these improvements might be through"tax increments," as discussed earlier -- although this would obviously work best in situations where significant new private investment is both feasible and desired by the community. Another general approach would be to form a special assessment district.

Park and Recreation Improvements. New parks or recreation areas, of various types and sizes, might be provided.

Although clearing built-up land for these can be very expensive, some kinds of situations do present opportunities for reducing this cost. These include:

1. Leftover pieces of land along freeways or street widening.
2. Land along creeks -- especially where flood control work is being undertaken by the Alameda County Flood Control District, which is authori to build incidental recreation facilities itsel as well as to cooperate with other agencies in multi-purpose projects.
3. Appropriately located vacant or underused lots,
4. Houses being demolished because of code enforce ment.
5. Large new developments, where a plaza or other open space might be provided either at the developer's expense as a condition of approval partly at public expense under a "joint develop ment" approach.
6. Street closings or narrowings, as discussed bel

In addition, existing parks or recreation areas, mi be redesigned to be more attractive or to permit ne recreation activities.

Some money for local park and recreation faciliti could become available from the 1974 bond issue pr posed by the Z'berg-Collier Act. However, this cou not be used for staffing, which is something that must also be considered. New parks obviously need people to maintain them. If the level of local rec reation programs were intensified, still more staf would be needed.

Street Closings or Restrictions. In some places it may be desirable, for environmental reasons, to reduce accessibility. There are various ways to di courage through, or fast, traffic from invading streets where it would be unwelcome. Among these are:

Full street closure in the middle of a residential block, with a small play area on the closed-off portion and possibly with diagonal parking on the remainder to make up for the lost curb spaces.

Traffic diverters diagonally crossing the intersections of local streets.

Full closure of a residential side street where it joins a major street with a small plaza on the closed-off portion.

Semi-closure of a side street exit or entry only, not both where it joins a major street, again with a small plaza or landscaped area.

Sidewalk widenings (sometimes called curb extensions or "chokers")at corners.

Frequent stop signs or other traffic restrictions.

Money from the city's gas tax fund might be used for at least some of these. However, any such improvements would need to follow detailed study of their likely traffic effects.

Beautification and Other Street Work. Street trees (and other planting) could be concentrated along major routes, or they might be distributed throughout an entire area. Street trees can make a big difference, visually, in almost any situation, yet they usually cost surprisingly little. Because of this, planting can often be done by individuals or local groups.

Other "beautification" improvements include such things as special sidewalk treatment, small plazas and benches. These improvements are especially appropriate in commercial streets.

Undergrounding of utility lines -- still another form of "beautification" -- tends to be quite expensive. Furthermore, removing the utility poles often means that new street lights have to be provided. (Aside from this tie-in with utility undergrounding, new street lights may be desirable for other reasons in some poorly-lit areas.) The utility companies themselves must pay for a few miles of undergrounding in Oakland each year, although this is usually limited to major streets. Where new electroliers are required, the City can install them or it can lease them from the Pacific Gas and Electric Company. (Another approach, of course, would be an assessment district.) New utility connections on private property must be paid for by the property owners.

Another kind of street work, which might be needed in some areas, would be the replacement of curbs and gutters.

Buffering. Buffering devices such as planting, walls, or special noise baffles might be installed at various locations. These could be especially desirable along freeways or railroads, or to separate mutually incompatible land uses. It is interesting, although this is no guarantee of funding, that State law now authorizes the California Department of Transportation to install noise suppression devices along existing freeways.

Improvements to Other Public Facilities. Also important to the local environment are such diverse facilities as branch libraries, flood control devices, and of course schools.

The agencies responsible for improvements to these facilities, and the means of financing them, are equally diverse. However, one concept should be mentioned which might save money on building new facilities of these types. This is the idea of "joint development," in which a private developer and/or one or more public agencies would share a single site and reduce the costs for each -- through use of "air-rights," for example.

Crime Prevention Actions. In economic terms, crime prevention is like the more physical "environmental improvements" which were outlined above. To residents, the crime rate is a critical part of the total neighborhood environment -- and potential investors view it just the same way.

Although crime rates and solutions to crime depend largely on changes in the broader society, some things can be done at the neighborhood level. Examples include assigning more police patrols to high-crime areas, conducting educational efforts like Oakland's "Home Alert" and "Merchants Alert" programs, and generally making efforts to improve police-community relations.

ACCESS IMPROVEMENTS

Several kinds of public actions are possible which would increase an area's accessibility, and hence tend to stimulate private investment.

Trafficway Capacity Improvements. One possible approach would be to increase the capacity and convenience of the trafficways that serve the area. Important streets could be widened, and new streets could be created where the local pattern is awkward or obsolete. Also, freeway ramps might be redesigned to provide better local connections. Traditionally, such expensive improvements have been made by the City or State with money from the Gas Tax Fund, but this money is becoming scarce.

Traffic capacity could often be increased at much less expense by means of improved traffic controls, such as synchronized traffic lights or special channelization at critical intersections. Capacity might also be increased by prohibiting curb parking, at least during rush hours, although this could cause hardships where off-street parking is unavailable.

Provision of Off-Street Parking. In Oakland public off-street parking has usually been provided through some form of special district, whereby the revenues from curb meters are used to pay off bonds issued to finance a new off-street facility. This approach could be continued in areas near the BART station. Also, of course, BART itself is thinking of adding to the parking capacity at some of its stations.

In some cases, incorporating some private air rights development over the parking might be desirable. Th feasibility of this would probably depend, though, o whether surrounding land values were high enough to make this worthwhile for a private developer.

Improved Transit Service. Especially in areas near BART stations, it could be more appropriate to improve public transit rather than encourage the movement and storage of more automobiles.

One way to do this would be to increase the frequenc of service on regular bus routes, especially the "feeder" lines which go right by the BART station. different approach would be a special "shuttle" line which would run back and forth between the station a nearby employment, shopping, or apartment concentrations. It might even be possible to provide free shuttle service, with at least part of the cost bein met through an assessment district or contributed directly by those major developments which benefit from the service. (Of course reducing or eliminatin transit fares in general would also help, although th would raise serious funding questions.)

Provision of Bikeways and Pedestrianways. Interest has been growing in the provision of special facili for bicyclists and pedestrians. For example, spec bicycle lanes could be marked, as has been done on various streets in Berkeley. Some special pedestri ways might be provided through widening and attract redesign of existing sidewalks. Other bikeways or trails might cut across blocks, through parks, or a creeks.

Gas tax money could generally be used for such im-

improvements as long as they were within a street right-of-way.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

There are many possible actions which could offer various types of financial assistance. Most of these would have the economic effect of enhancing incomes in some way or other. That is, they would serve to maintain or increase the incomes of residents or other persons -- either directly, or by increasing their buying capacity, or by providing housing or other services at reduced cost.

While some of these actions would need to operate at a city-wide or even national level, others could be focused on specific areas near the BART stations.

Obviously, these actions would be pursued for a variety of reasons, including matters of broad national policy. At the same time, they could help achieve the more limited kinds of goals which this report deals with. In particular, many of them could help prevent low-and moderate-income residents or merchants near the BART stations from being displaced by rehabilitation efforts or rent increases.

Housing Rehabilitation Assistance. Certain Federal programs have offered rehabilitation assistance to property owners in FACE and urban renewal areas. This has been in the forms of grants for low-income homeowners, reduced interest rates for loans, and technical assistance.

There are other approaches to rehabilitation assistance possible. One which is now being tried in a lower-income section of East Oakland involves the Federal Home Loan Bank Board and Neighborhood Housing Service. It features a loan guarantee fund to encourage lending institutions to finance property owners there. Another concept might be for the City to administer its own rehabilitation loan fund, perhaps using the proceeds from tax-exempt bonds.

Still another approach might involve modifying existing taxation and assessment procedures so as to encourage rehabilitation -- or at least not penalize it. It has been argued, for example, that present assessment procedure discourages improvements in existing structures. Doing much in this direction, though, would require constitutional or statutory changes at the State level.

There has been less discussion of the problems of tenants who may be displaced because of rent increases triggered by rehabilitation. Rent controls would be one drastic approach, but there are other possibilities which are discussed below.

Provision of Publicly Assisted Housing. The term "publicly assisted housing" includes both:

1. "Turnkey public housing" and other publicly provided units which are owned or leased by local governments and made available, at low-rents, to low-income people.

2. "236" and other publicly subsidized units which are privately owned but are built with the assistance of either direct loans or substantial mortgage-interest subsidies, and which generally serve moderate-income persons.

(In certain of these moderate-income projects, Federal "rent supplements," may be used to allow some of the units to be rented to low-income households.)

Depending partly on which specific Federal program is used, publicly assisted housing may be either for families or for the elderly. Housing may be in the form of new units, or in some cases they may involve renovation of existing ones. Project sizes may vary greatly -- and this factor can be quite significant in terms of neighborhood impact. Sometimes even one-unit projects are possible. In fact the "235" moderate-income programs are designed to encourage homeownership, and these offer not just financial assistance but also give first-time buyers counseling on how to purchase and maintain a home.

The provision of new publicly assisted housing within an area could be relevant in several ways to the kinds of issues this report deals with. It could offer nearby replacement units for people displaced by public redevelopment or rehabilitation actions or by private development. If it is well designed and maintained, it could serve to improve an old neighborhood's appearance. It might also give owners of old houses in the neighborhood some encouragement to maintain their own properties better.

Housing Allowances. Another way of helping renters (or homeowners) could be the concept of "housing allowances" which the Federal Government is now experimenting with in some cities. This might provide direct payments to lower-income households, who could use the money to find housing, either public or private, wherever they chose.

General Income-Enhancement Actions. The incomes of residents can be raised, of course, by such direct approaches as welfare and social security -- not to mention the "negative income tax" and other new concepts which are now being explored nationally.

Somewhat less direct would be those types of actions which seek to increase residents' earning ability. These could include improvements in general education, and economic development activities which can help create jobs. Other actions include job training, job placement activities, and transportation improvements which help neighborhood residents get to outlying job opportunities. Child-care programs can also increase the earning ability of some families, by enabling mothers to work. In areas with many residents who cannot speak English well, language programs can help increase their chances of finding employment.

Finally, various public actions can serve to stretch out residents' incomes with services or facilities at reduced cost. Examples include neighborhood health and legal services.

Actions to Assist Businesses. Various actions coul be taken to assist businesses near BART stations. For example, the City might provide technical assistance to a local merchants' organization for promotional and other "self-help" activities. The Feder Small Business Administration already has a genera program providing loans to qualifying firms. The Economic Development Administration can make loans or even grants to strategic projects which would stimulate economic conditions.

Other public, cooperative, or joint public-private programs might be developed to provide "seed money" and other assistance specifically for areas near BA stations.

Medical-Facility Subsidies. Finally, there are vari public actions which could subsidize medical facil (These are of special interest because such facilit are important users of land near some BART station In particular, Federal grants and loan guarantees an available, through the State Department of Public Health, for construction or expansion of hospital an other nonprofit medical facilities. Applications fo these are presently reviewed by the Bay Area Comprehensive Health Planning Council, which considers su factors as appropriateness of location.

Chapter 4

Current Outlook

This chapter forecasts what is likely to happen in Rockridge, after BART impact, under the current outlook.

It cannot be said when the "after BART impact" period will begin. The effects discussed here are those which will occur after the economic impact of a fully operational BART becomes fully recognized and the market reacts accordingly. The period after BART impact will be preceded by an interim period during which the market near the Rockridge station may be tested by some "pioneer" investors.

The current outlook assumes that no major public actions, such as large-scale rezoning, will be undertaken to alter the course of events which would otherwise occur.

The following sections will discuss (1) the general economic outlook in Rockridge, with emphasis on how it will be affected by BART; (2) existing zoning, which to some extent will constrain the operation of economic forces; (3) the likely pattern of new private-market construction; and (4) physical and socioeconomic effects, in general.

GENERAL ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

The forces at work in Rockridge are such that, except in the more distant sections west of Claremont Avenue, BART will enhance the area, which is already economically desirable -- by improving its relative advantages and thereby increasing the demand for housing and commercial space. The effect will be greatest east of College Avenue, but there will also be an increase in demand between College and Claremont.

Housing Outlook. Rockridge is now a desirable residential community. Those sections which have been most attractive because of their "quality" will remain so and will tend to become relatively more desirable than they were before the existence of BART. However, this will be true only as long as the pressures for deterioration, beginning to affect the western sections of Rockridge, are contained.

BART will significantly reduce the travel time between Rockridge and such areas as downtown San Francisco and Oakland. This reduction will be especially important because it will work along with the existing travel patterns of residents. The biggest travel time reduction will occur in neighborhoods "A," "B," "C," "E," and parts of "D" -- and potentially in the adjacent upper-income areas to the north and east of the study area, although the benefits there will be somewhat limited by the absence of good feeder bus service. The reduction in travel time will be most attractive to professionals and middle-income people, as well as to younger couples and single individuals; and hence there will be an increase in the demand for new units to serve these people.

Commercial Outlook. In general, the commercial market in Rockridge is already a healthy one. Although the northern section of College is somewhat stronger than the southern reach, a market for commercial space does exist all along the avenue.

BART will increase the attractiveness of Rockridge for commercial activities. The savings in travel time due to BART will have an effect on commercial demand, especially in the area immediately around the station and along College between the station and Claremont. In addition, the commercial uses in Rockridge will be exposed to people with considerable purchasing power, as many upper-income people from outside the area travel to the Rockridge station.

There will be demand for both office and retail uses. Because of accessibility and location, there will be pressures to develop the area so as to serve a city-wide or even regional market. The nature of the establishments which actually remain or locate in Rockridge will determine whether the area will serve primarily a neighborhood, city-wide, or regional market. Some potential exists to serve any of these functions.

EXISTING ZONING

The existing zoning pattern in Rockridge (as of the end of 1973) is shown on Map D. Rockridge's predominance of residential land use is reflected by a predominance of residential zoning, except that much of the area is zoned to allow considerably higher densities than presently exist. For example, the bulk of Rockridge is in the R-50 Medium Density Residential Zone, which would allow large two-story apartment houses with a use permit.(See Table 5 on Page 29). However, building a large number of units would require a large site, and most of the existing lots in R-50 are too small to allow more than three or four dwelling units.

R-70 High Density Residential zoning is mapped in ribbons along several major streets -- Claremont Avenue, Broadway, and Broadway Terrace. This zone allows several times the density of R-50.

The R-30 One-Family Residential Zone covers the extre northeast and southeast corners of Rockridge, and this zoning accurately reflects the land use there.

Nearly all the commercial facilities, regardless of their type or intensity, are in the C-30 District Thoroughfare Commercial Zone, a relatively unrestrictive zone designed for "strip" commercial uses. (The only exception to the C-30 pattern is the Lucky site, which was placed in the C-35 District Shopping Commercial Zone several years ago.) It should be noted that some quite sizable portions of the existing C-30 zoning are not in commercial use.

NEW PRIVATE-MARKET CONSTRUCTION

Table 6 shows the major types of new private-market construction which are allowable and will probably be feasible in each section of Rockridge, after BART impact, under the existing zoning. (Single-family detached houses are not shown because these will probably not be built, except perhaps by some private owners who may rebuild on their own property or in cases where there is a vacant lot.) Consultants Gruen Gruen + Associates based these forecasts on a rather complex analysis of several factors, including the site costs and obtainable rents in each section of Rockridge and the level of construction costs in Oakland.

The results in the table are only a generalization of the Gruens' more detailed conclusions. In many cases, for example, construction might be feasible only for some sizes of dwelling units or for "average" rather welling

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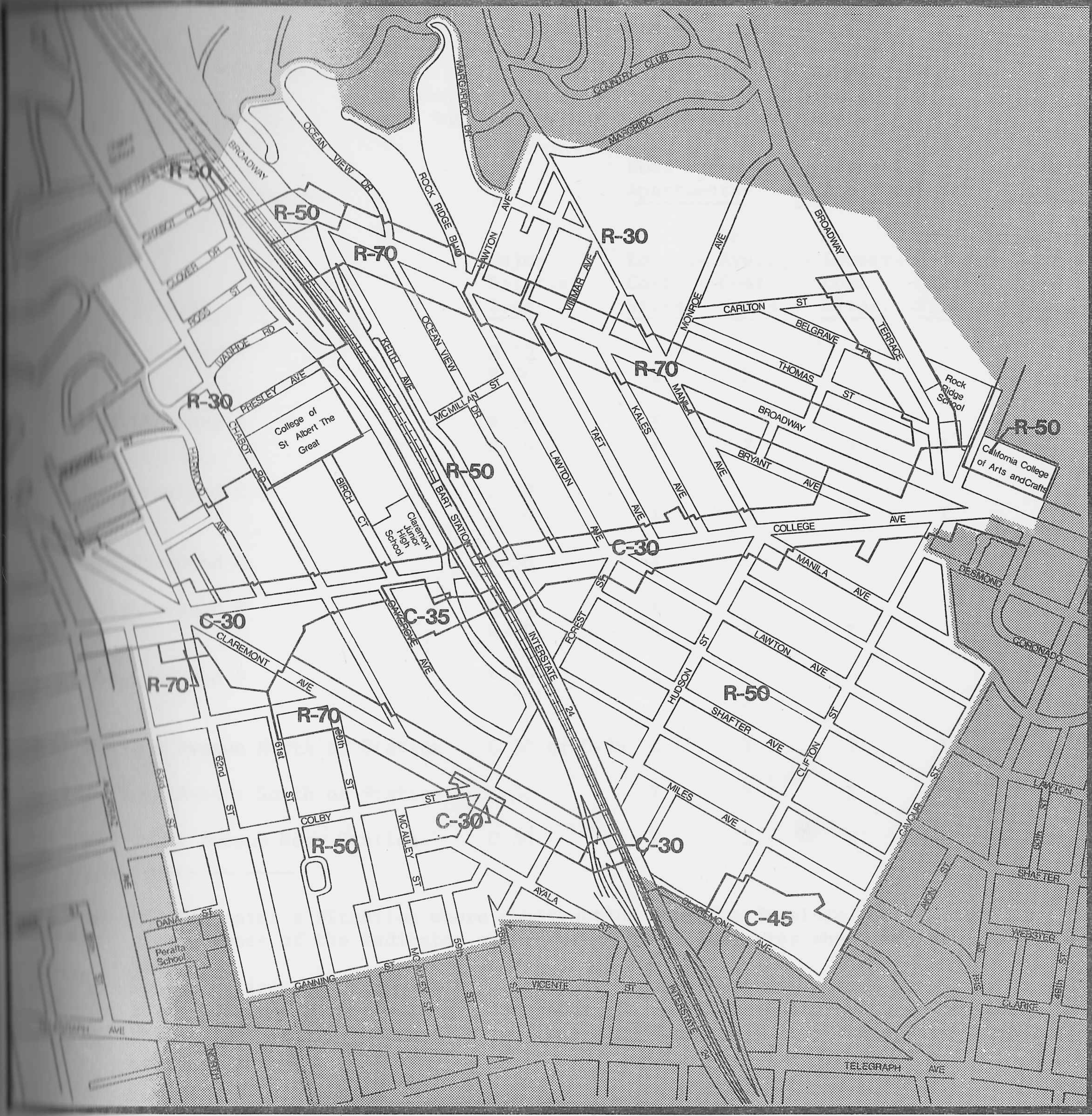

Map D

Basic Zoning 1973

2031

OAKLAND
CITY PLANNING
DEPARTMENT

Table 6

FEASIBILITY[a] OF MAJOR TYPES OF PRIVATE-MARKET NEW CONSTRUCTION BY SUBAREA UNDER EXISTING ZONING: ROCKRIDGE STUDY AREA AFTER BART IMPACT

Subarea	Major Existing Zone	Wood Frame Apartments[b] On Lowest-Cost Sites	Wood Frame Apartments[b] On Average-Cost Sites	High-Rise Apartments[b,c] On Lowest-Cost Sites	High-Rise Apartments[b,c] On Average-Cost Sites	Commercial Facilities On Lowest-Cost Sites	Commercial Facilities On Average-Cost Sites
Neighborhood A	R-30						
	R-50	X	X				
Neighborhood B	R-50	X					
	R-70	X	X	X	X		
Neighborhood C	R-30						
	R-70	X	X	X	X		
Neighborhood D	R-50	X					
Neighborhood E	R-50	X					
	R-70	X	X	X			
Neighborhood F	R-50	X					
	R-70	X	X	X			
College Avenue North of Station	C-30 or C-35	X	X	X	X	X	X
College Avenue South of Station	C-30	X	X	X		X	X
Claremont Avenue Near Station	C-30	X	X	X		X	X

---

a. "X" indicates a situation where construction would be feasible for at least many, or most, common types of the indicated category. A blank indicates where few or no types would be feasible.

b. Senior citizen or high-rise housing might become feasible in some zones, or on additional sites, if a use permit were granted under the density bonus provisions mentioned in Table 5.

c. "High-rise" refers to construction generally found only in structures with more than four stories.

than "good" construction quality. The reader should refer to the Gruens' report for these details and exceptions. The table here indicates feasibility where many or most types would be possible. It does, however, distinguish between construction on average-cost sites and lowest-cost sites. The latter might include such things as vacant lots, underutilized sites, or dilapidated properties; there are cases where construction would be feasible although not on the average-cost sites in an area.

As the table's second footnote indicates, there might be further exceptions in some cases because of the zoning density bonus provisions shown in Table 5 on Page 29. In particular, if a conditional use permit were granted:

1. The density for high-rise apartments in R-70, R-80, C-30, or C-35 might be increased by up to 50 percent.

2. The density for high- or low-rise senior citizen housing in any existing zone except R-30 might be increased by up to 75 percent.

Two further caveats are necessary. First, the table and the analysis on which it is based deal only with feasibility for the "typical" investor -- that is, one who invests to obtain a certain rate of return on his investment. For some individual developers, owners, or investors, other factors could be very important in determining "feasibility." One's tax bracket and attitude toward risk may enhance the desirability of certain projects. For example, in a case where the sum of depreciation and loan interest exceeds the net income from the property in a particular year, the resulting tax shelter may be advantageous to certain taxpayers in higher tax brackets. Table 6 may not apply to this type of investor.

Secondly, the table deals only with "incremental" development. That is, it assumes that no private project will be undertaken in Rockridge that would be of sufficient scale and impact by itself to significantly change the demand for space in an area. Su
an effect might be possible if a developer could
assemble a large enough site to create its own spe
"environment" and therefore command much higher ren
such a project might then tend to increase demand f
other property nearby. However, a private develope
is unlikely to build a project for a very different
market than the typical one in an area without the
types of public action that would seek to change th
area significantly. A developer, even a large and
well-capitalized one, would be better off in respon
ing to the presently foreseeable demand for space i
the neighborhood, rather than seeking to totally
change this demand. This is especially so because i
is difficult, time-consuming, and expensive for a
private developer by himself to assemble small lots
create a big enough site to have this kind of impac

The current outlook for private-market constructio
indicates:

1. At least some low-rise apartment construction c
be expected in most sections of Rockridge where
the existing zoning allows apartments.

2. High-rise housing construction will be limited b
existing zoning to properties along Broadway
Terrace, sections of College and Claremont Aven
and Broadway.

3. There will be a very substantial demand for ne
retail space in Rockridge and some demand for n
office space. The greatest potential for new
construction is on College Avenue north of the
station. There is also a sizable potential on
Claremont Avenue near College. Partly because
easier auto access and somewhat cheaper land,
pressures for office (and some types of retail)
construction may shift toward Claremont. Some
commercial development can also be expected al
the southern portion of College, although new
construction will be somewhat less feasible her

In general, the existing residential zoning in

Rockridge will limit new construction to a lower overall density than would result without density controls. In particular, high-rise construction would be feasible in the existing R-50 sections east of College if the zoning were changed to R-60 in some areas or R-70 in others. (In most existing R-50 sections west of College, on the other hand, upzoning to even higher density zones would be required to make high-rise feasible.) Therefore, there will be pressures for zoning changes to allow higher density construction in certain parts of Rockridge -- especially in Neighborhoods A, B, and E and those portions of D near the BART station.

It is very difficult to forecast the amount of new construction likely in Rockridge. However, it is possible that as many as 900 to 1,200 private-market multi-family housing units will be built in Rockridge over the first decade after BART impact. Perhaps as much as 120,000 or 150,000 square feet of new office space will be built over the same period. The amount of new retail construction will probably be very substantial, and considerably greater than the total of office construction.

EFFECTS IN GENERAL

Table 7 outlines the direction and general scale of the major effects likely to occur in Rockridge after BART impact. (Whereas quite small subareas were used earlier to describe the feasibility of new construction, these have been combined here into four larger subareas -- "Neighborhood F," "Neighborhoods D and E," "College Avenue," and "Residential Areas East of College.") These effects will impose both benefits and costs upon people in Rockridge itself, Oakland, and to some extent the Bay Region. This section outlines the likely effects in Rockridge so that they can be evaluated by those who will be affected by them. City-wide and regional effects are also of interest, obviously, but these are extremely difficult to forecast and are beyond the scope of this study.

How to evaluate the costs and benefits of these effects depends greatly on who is doing the evaluating. For example, an increase in housing units may mean something very different for someone who is looking for a place to live in Rockridge than it would for an existing resident concerned about density increases. The owner of a property where new housing could be built might view it in still another way. As another example, a decrease in housing value could be a benefit to families looking for low-cost housing, but it might represent a loss to the property owner.

In general, Rockridge seems to be at a pivotal point. On the one hand, BART will have strong positive economic effects. On the other hand, the pressures for quality deterioration along the western edge of Rockridge are threatening to get stronger and spread.

Housing and Related Effects. As we have seen there may be a considerable amount of housing construction in Rockridge. Some units will be removed to make way for new construction. Overall, there may be a net increase of something like 650 to 850 units over the first ten years after BART impact. Increases will occur within all four subareas, although the addition in Neighborhood F will probably be minor.

Because the new units east of College Avenue and along College itself will be able to command higher rents and prices than the new units in other subareas, new construction here will be of higher quality and will provide more amenities. These higher-quality units will tend to be desirable additions, and will cause some overall housing price increase in these subareas since they will replace lower valued units. Because of the existing income levels of the population here, owners will be able to continue to maintain their property.

However, pressures for undermaintenance and physical

Table 7
LIKELY MAJOR EFFECTS UNDER CURRENT OUTLOOK: ROCKRIDGE STUDY AREA DURING FIRST DECADE AFTER BART IMPACT

Factor	Neighborhood F	Neighborhoods D and E	College Avenue	Residential Area East of College
Total Housing Units	Minor increase.	Moderate increase.	Moderate increase.	Moderate increase some sections.
Physical Quality of Housing	Moderate rate of deterioration.	Slow deterioration.	No significant change.	No significant change.
Median Housing Rent and Value	Slight decrease.	Parts of D: slight decrease. Parts of E: some increase.	Slight increase.	Slight increase,
Median Income of Residents	No significant change.	No significant change.	No significant change.	No significant change.
Total Commercial Floor Space	N.A.	N.A.	Moderate to major increase.	N.A
Markets Served By Commercial Facilities	N.A.	N.A.	Somewhat increased regional orientation.	N.A.
Visual Scale of Buildings in Area	Minor increase.	Moderate increase.	Moderate to major increase.	Moderate increase in some sections,
Overall Quality of Environment	Moderate decrease.	Moderate decrease.	Minor improvement	No significant change.
Total Assessed Valuation	Minor decrease.	N0 significant change.	Moderate to major increase.	Moderate increase
Required Level of Public Expenditures	No significant change.	No significant change.	No significant change.	No significant change.
Traffic on Major Streets in Rockridge		Moderate increase, following initial jump when BART goes to San Francisco.		
Patronage at Rockridge BART Station		Moderate increase, following initial jump when BART goes to San Francisco.		

Deterioration will increase in some sections west of College, depressing housing prices there and also having some effect on market expectations throughout Rockridge. Unless the problems of housing and environmental quality in these adjoining areas are alleviated, the demand for new housing in Rockridge and the extent to which owners of existing housing invest in maintaining it will be adversely affected.

Within Rockridge, problems of undermaintenance and housing deterioration will be greatest in portions of neighborhoods F and in those portions of D farthest from College Avenue. Although some new construction will take place there, private-market investment will not be great enough to reverse the pressures for housing deterioration which now exist.

Commercial Effects. There will be good deal of new commercial construction, as discussed above, and remodeling of existing structures will also be important. Rockridge may experience a net increase of something like 60,000 to 75,000 square feet of office space, and a net retail increase on the order of 300,000 to 350,000 square feet, in the first decade after BART impact. New office uses may include banks and savings and loans, and retail facilities will probably include both specialty shops as well as convenience-type ones. However, there will be some tendency for the commercial establishments along College to be oriented to a regional market.

The increasing demand for commercial space will increase commercial rents, and as a result there will be some dislocation of the more marginal operations. However, the increased activity on College Avenue resulting from BART patronage and new commercial construction will help to support many of the existing merchants.

On the negative side, problems of structural and environmental quality in the adjoining neighborhoods to the west will have an adverse effect on the amount and quality of commercial activity in Rockridge, and the rate of private investment along College may eventually fall off as market expectations there are affected by these problems. On the other hand, the investment in commercial facilities will tend to reinforce private investment in the adjoining residential areas.

Other Effects. The increased scale and density of the new construction will change the physical character of various portions of Rockridge. As for overall environmental quality, some sections west of College will suffer from housing deterioration, while some of the new buildings on and east of College may actually enhance their surroundings. However, the adequacy of local public facilities is another component of environmental quality, and the present deficiencies in park and recreation facilities will be compounded by the density increases.

Assessed valuation along and east of College will increase because of new construction, renovation, and rent increases. However, there will probably be some decreases west of College due to quality decline.

When BART service to San Francisco begins, there will be a sudden increase in patronage at the Rockridge station and in BART-generated traffic in the study area. Following this initial spurt, there will be a more gradual increase generated partly by new development likely to occur in the area. Table 7 mentions both these changes.

BART patronage at this station will continue to increase due to both new construction in Rockridge and new patronage from outside. Largely for the same reasons, traffic volume on major streets in the study area will tend to increase, particularly on College Avenue. This will further congest the traffic flow on College and will contribute to the area's parking problems.

After service begins to San Francisco, the following traffic patterns may emerge in Rockridge:

1. At least until the Landvale interchange (connecting the Warren and Grove-Shafter Freeways) is completed, BART patrons from the Montclair and Piedmont areas will probably take two routes to the Rockridge station. They will either follow Broadway Terrace, and Monroe Avenue, and Manila Avenue to College Avenue, or use Rockridge Boulevard and Lawton Avenue to get to College. Thus, traffic on all these streets may increase.

2. Some commuters from southeast Berkeley will travel south on Claremont Avenue to College, thus adding to the existing congestion at the Claremont-College intersection and on College Avenue between Claremont and the station.

3. Traffic will probably increase on Keith and Miles Avenues, which parallel the freeway and border the BART station -- especially when the Landvale interchange is finished.

Until the Landvale interchange is completed, additional through traffic may filter across Rockridge. Furthermore, if Tunnel Road were to be disconnected from the freeway system, as proposed by some Berkeley residents, Oakland's streets connecting Berkeley to Route 24 might become overloaded to the point that through freeway traffic flow, and access to the Rockridge station, would be adversely affected.

Chapter 5

Alternatives for Rockridge

Economic forces in Rockridge suggest many different "futures" are possible. To facilitate a choice of "futures," the following pages offer five broad alternative strategies for Rockridge and outline what the effects of implementing each of them would be.

In a sense these alternatives are a series of schematic "cartoons," simplified to focus discussion on basic issues rather than details. Admittedly, somewhat different alternatives might be posed, although the ones presented here span a very wide range. Additional alternatives would probably fit in between--or actually be a blend of--the ones presented here.

The section on each alternative gives first the goals which generate it, together with the arguments which can be made for pursuing these goals. It then describes the overall implementation approach which would logically follow from the goals. This approach is then translated into the principal types of public actions (other than routine existing actions) which would be called for in each major subarea of Rockridge. These actions would need to be tailored to the existing conditions and the economic forces within each subarea. Some specific examples are then given for certain of these actions--largely those dealing with particular locations. Finally, the major effects of implementing the alternative are outlined, for each subarea where possible.

These future effects are the same as those discussed in Chapter 4. Just as there, it is impossible to predict the exact scale of these effects. It is particularly difficult to estimate the increases in level of public expenditures which each alternative would call for. To do this properly would require a precise plan and a list of projects beyond the scope of this study. Therefore words like "minor" and "major" are used to describe change in the level of public expenditures as compared to the existing level (and in relation to the size of the subarea it refers to).

Nonetheless, it is possible to anticipate the direction and general scale of the major changes likely under each alternative. That, in fact, has been the basic objective of this report: to sketch out in broad terms what would happen under a series of alternatives, so as to permit their evaluation and thereby facilitate decision-making.

ALTERNATIVE I: PRESERVATION AS IS THROUGHOUT ROCKRIDGE

GOAL

This alternative is based on the following goal:

> KEEP LAND USES, DENSITIES, ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, AND THE OVERALL PHYSICAL QUALITY OF STRUCTURES AND THE ENVIRONMENT AS THEY ARE NOW, THROUGHOUT ROCKRIDGE.

This goal would be directed to maximizing preservation of Rockridge's small-scale environment; its combination of different income levels and household types; and its existing commercial pattern. All of these features may be threatened by the kinds of construction and rent increases, and the physical deterioration, which are likely to occur if no major new public actions are taken.

GENERAL IMPLEMENTATION APPROACH

Although this alternative calls for a "status quo" Rockridge, this cannot be accomplished by a "do nothing" public policy. To achieve this alternative's goal, a consciously chosen set of major new actions would have to be taken.

Downzoning would be called for in most of Rockridge, to prevent density increases as well as to discourage any tendency toward undermaintenance by owners speculating on future high-density rebuilding. Zoning by itself, though, would be far from sufficient. It would not deal with problems of undermaintenance due to lack of financial resources. Other actions would be required to deal with these, and various environmental improvements would be needed to counteract negative factors such as the "scars" left by the freeway.

Expensive efforts to deal with these blighting fact
however, could by themselves jeopardize other aspec
of this goal. In particular, there could be financ
problems for moderate-income persons who own houses
needing substantial improvements. To prevent these
owners from being forced out, some form of rehab as
tance would be important for those sections of Rock
with significant numbers of moderate-income residen

PRINCIPAL PUBLIC ACTIONS BY SUBAREA

Looked at by subarea, this strategy would call for
following types of public actions.

Neighborhoods A, B, and C:

- Downzone to prevent housing construction at higher than single-family density and to discourage under maintenance due to speculation.
- Make a few environmental improvements, especially near the freeway, to the extent needed to keep the area attractive to the kinds of income groups that live there now.

Neighborhoods D and E:

- Downzone to prevent housing construction at higher than single-family density and to discourage under maintenance due to speculation.
- Encourage and require conservation and rehabilitat efforts, to the extent necessary to prevent furthe deterioration in the general physical quality of structures.
- Make environmental improvements, to the extent nee to keep the area attractive to the kinds of income groups who live there now.

- Provide some form of financial assistance where needed to enable existing owners to rehabilitate their houses.

Neighborhood F:

- Downzone to prevent housing construction at higher than single-family density and to discourage undermaintenance due to speculation.

- Encourage and require conservation and rehabilitation efforts, to the extent necessary to prevent further deterioration in the general physical quality of structures.

- Make environmental improvements, to the extent needed to keep the area attractive to the kinds of income groups that live there now.

- Provide some form of financial assistance where needed to enable existing owners to rehabilitate their houses.

College Avenue:

- Rezone to a single-family residential zone all sizable sections which are not actually in commercial use, to prevent commercial expansion and housing density increases.

- In the remaining sections, rezone and/or make zoning text changes to reduce the allowable density of new construction and to ensure that land uses there are consistent with the area's existing character.

- Encourage and require conservation and rehabilitation efforts, to the extent necessary to prevent further deterioration in the physical quality of structures.

- Make environmental improvements, to the extent needed to keep the area attractive to the kinds of people who shop, work, or live there now.

- Provide financial assistance where needed to enable existing owners to rehabilitate their properties.

SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF SOME OF THE ABOVE ACTIONS

Zoning. Map E is a schematic example of what the basic zoning pattern might look like under this alternative. If the C-10 Zone were used along College, various text changes would need to be made in it. One of these could be a reduction in housing density, while some other general examples have already been given in Chapter 3.

Environmental Improvements. As for the environmental improvements called for above, some form of added buffering along the freeway would be especially valuable. Street tree planting in general, especially in the neighborhoods west of College, could also be very appropriate under this alternative.

Also helpful in preserving Rockridge's residential qualities could be measures to discourage, or at least slow down, through traffic on local streets. For instance, some of the side streets leading off College or Claremont Avenue--such as Oceanview, Lawton, Hudson, Taft, Kales, Colby, or Hillegass--could be fully or partly closed, or at least narrowed, where they meet the arterial.

The space freed by street closings or narrowings along College might be made into small landscaped areas or plazas which would help keep that avenue attractive to shoppers. Other opportunities for minor parks or play areas are offered by small leftover spaces along the freeway, notably at Ayala Street, Miles Avenue, and Lockesley Avenue.

EFFECTS

Table 8 outlines the major physical, economic, and social effects which would probably result if this alternative were implemented. In general, as might be expected, very little would change. In particular, the amount of new construction would be sharply reduced below that which BART and other economic factors could otherwise attract to Rockridge.

Housing and Related Effects. Except for a few new units along College itself, there would be little or no housing construction and therefore no significant net change in total units. It is possible that some owners of either vacant or very low-cost properties could build a new home there, although such special situations would probably be very few.

As for the physical quality of housing, the actions envisioned under this alternative would be able to control pressures for increased undermaintenance and deterioration. Since the housing in the sections east of College is generally in quite good shape, its physical quality would remain basically as is. However, in some sections west of College where there has already been some undermaintenance, programs designed simply to prevent further deterioration would inevitably lead in the long run to some overall quality improvement, and therefore to some resultant increases in home values and rents. It is in the nature of the housing market that effectively arresting deterioration in an area where pressures for it exist tends to increase the area's desirability and image and improve expectations there.

There would also be some tendency for housing prices to increase because of the general relationship between demand and supply. The demand which already exists for housing in Rockridge would inevitably increase as a result of both preservation efforts and the nearness of BART, while the supply could not increase significantly under this alternative.

However, the amount of these increases would probably not be great enough to cause any major dislocations or changes in the income or household characteristics of residents.

Commercial Effects. Even though this alternative would reduce the allowable density of construction in commercial areas, the demand is strong enough tha some new small-scale commercial facilities would be built. This would be true for underutilized or lower-cost sites, and of course for vacant lots. Besides new construction, there would also be continued remodeling and renovation of some of the olde structures, as this would often be less costly than new construction.

Overall, there might be a net increase of 40,000 to 50,000 square feet of retail floor space, as well as some minor office space increases.

New commercial establishments would be basically of the same types and scale as the existing ones.

Rent levels would probably increase somewhat, especially north of the station, but the changes woul not be great enough to displace more than a relativel few of the more marginal establishments.

Other Effects. Although the basic physical characte and scale of Rockridge would not change under this alternative, the programs to halt deterioration woul lead inevitably to some minor improvements in the overall quality of the environment.

Assessments would inevitably increase a little, reflecting the increases in housing and commercial pri As for the required increases in public expenditures, these would generally be minor east of College, but more substantial to the west -- reflecting the likel costs of rehab, rehab assistance, and environmental improvements there.

Assuming that no radical changes are made in the City's major trafficway system which would route through traffic around Rockridge, some gradual traffi increases are likely -- although the relative volume might change as between College Avenue and other majo streets. The gradual increase would be due largely t

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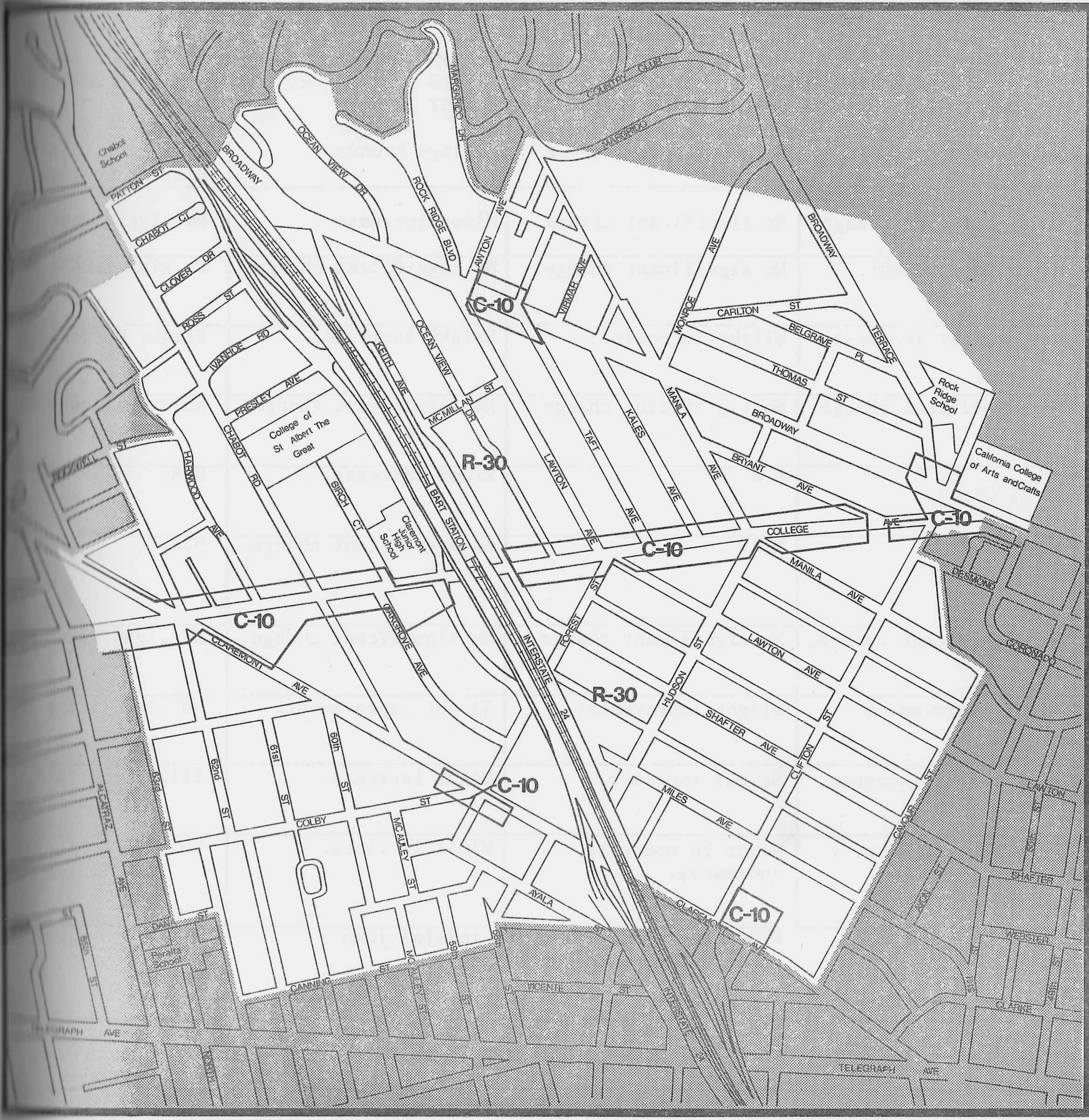

Map E

Illustrative Basic Zoning Under Alternative I

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Table 8

LIKELY MAJOR EFFECTS OF IMPLEMENTING ALTERNATIVE I: ROCKRIDGE STUDY AREA DURING FIRST DECADE "AFTER BART IMPACT"

Factor	Neighborhood F	Neighborhoods D and E	College Avenue	Residential Areas East of College
Total Housing Units	No significant change.	No significant change.	Minor increase.	No significant ch
Physical Quality of Housing	Minor improvement.	No significant change.	No significant change.	No significant ch
Median Housing Rent and Value	Very slight increase.	Slight increase.	Slight increase.	Slight increase.
Median Income of Residents	No significant change.	No significant change.	No significant change.	No significant ch
Total Commercial Floor Space	N.A.	N.A.	Minor increase.	N.A.
Markets Served By Commercial Facilities	N.A.	N.A.	No significant change.	N.A.
Visual Scale of Buildings in Area	No significant change.	No significant change.	No significant change.	No significant ch
Overall Quality of Environment	Minor improvement.	Slight improvement.	Slight improvement.	No significant ch
Total Assessed Valuation	Very slight increase.	Slight increase.	Minor increase.	Slight increase.
Required Level of Public Expenditures	Moderate increase.	Minor to moderate increases.	Minor increase.	Very minor increa
Traffic on Major Streets in Rockridge	Minor increase, following initial jump when BART goes to San Francisco.			
Patronage at Rockridge BART Station	Minor increase, following initial jump when BART goes to San Francisco.			

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ALTERNATIVE II: MODERATE-SCALE DEVELOPMENT NEAR THE STATION

GOALS

This alternative is based on the following goals:

> ACHIEVE NEW PRIVATE CONSTRUCTION OF TYPES WHICH WOULD NOT DEPART GREATLY FROM EXISTING ROCKRIDGE CHARACTER, AND UPGRADE THE PHYSICAL QUALITY OF STRUCTURES AND THE ENVIRONMENT, IN A FEW PLACES ESPECIALLY ACCESSIBLE TO BART. IN THE REMAINING SECTIONS, KEEP LAND USES, DENSITIES,AND THE OVERALL PHYSICAL QUALITY OF STRUCTURES AND THE ENVIRONMENT AS THEY ARE NOW.

Like Alternative I, this strategy would recognize the value of Rockridge's existing qualities, and accordingly it would seek to preserve most sections physically as they are now. However, it would also recognize that BART will significantly enhance the development potential near the station--and also that the immediate station surroundings have been changed irreversibly by the freeway's presence, suggesting that some additional change may be appropriate there.

This alternative assumes that, with proper controls, new construction of moderate scale could be made harmonious with, and even enhance, its surroundings.

GENERAL IMPLEMENTATION APPROACH

The necessary implementation approach would vary between (1) the outlying sections of Rockridge and (2) the places most accessible to BART (namely the residential blocks within a very short walk from the station as well as College Avenue itself with its good bus service to BART).

In the outlying sections there would be downzoning and other actions similar to those under Alternative I. In the sections most accessible to BART, however, there would be a much stronger effort to upgrade the environment, and there would be special emphasis on high design standards for new housing and commercial construction.

PRINCIPAL PUBLIC ACTIONS BY SUBAREA

The following major actions would be called for in each subarea.

Neighborhoods A, B, and C:

- Downzone (except on blocks immediately around the station) to restrict housing construction to low density--single-family density on the blocks farther from the station--and to discourage undermaintenance due to speculation.
- Make zoning text changes to ensure that all new apartment construction is attractive and does not depart greatly from existing neighborhood character.
- Make environmental improvements:
  - so as to significantly upgrade the environment, and encourage new private investment, right around the station,
  - so as to keep the remaining sections attractive to the kinds of income groups who live there now,

Neighborhoods D and E:

- Downzone (except on blocks immediately around the station) to restrict housing construction to low density--single-family density on the blocks farther from the station--and to discourage under-maintenance due to speculation.

- Make zoning text changes to ensure that all new apartment construction is attractive and does not depart greatly from existing Rockridge character.

- Encourage and require conservation and rehabilitation efforts:

  - so as to upgrade the general physical quality of housing near the station,

  - so as to preserve the existing quality level in other sections.

- Make environmental improvements:

  - so as to significantly upgrade the environment, and encourage new private investment, right near the station,

  - so as to keep the remaining sections attractive to the kinds of income groups who live there now.

- Provide some form of financial assistance where needed to enable existing owners to rehabilitate their houses.

Neighborhood F:

- Downzone to prevent housing construction at higher than single-family density and to discourage under-maintenance due to speculation.

- Encourage and require conservation and rehabilitation efforts, to the extent necessary to prevent further deterioration in the general physical quality of structures.

- Make environmental improvements, to the extent needed to keep the area attractive to the kinds of income groups who live there now.

- Provide some form of financial assistance where needed to enable existing owners to rehabilitate their houses.

College Avenue:

- Rezone and/or make zoning text changes to ensure that new construction is attractive and does not depart greatly from the area's existing character.

- Require and encourage conservation and rehabilitation efforts in some places, so as to upgrade the general physical quality of structures.

- Make environmental improvements, especially near the station, so as to significantly upgrade the environment and encourage new private investment.

SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF SOME OF THE ABOVE ACTIONS

Zoning. Map F gives a schematic example of what the basic zoning pattern might look like under this alternative. In addition to these basic zones, the S-4 Design Review Combining Zone might be mapped in some places, such as College Avenue right near the station, to help ensure that any new construction does not depart greatly from existing character.

If the R-50 Zone were retained immediately around the station, some moderate density increases might still be accomplished through appropriate text changes. For instance, if the present 60,000 square foot minimum-size rule for "planned unit developments" in R-50 were reduced, there could be a 50 per cent density bonus for smaller lot assemblies.

(Possibly R-60 might be mapped here instead, if this zone were amended to require a use permit for all large projects and to prohibit high-rise structures. These latter changes might be desirable in the commercial zones, too.)

In any case the zoning provisions could be backed up by administrative design guidelines suggesting how new housing could be designed to help relate to its surroundings. For example, an apartment building might incorporate shingles, sloping roofs, or other "Rockridge themes." Ideas for these might come from studying the housing styles described in Chapter 2.

Environmental Improvements. The examples of environmental improvements already given under Alternative I--freeway buffering, street narrowings, etc.--could also be appropriate here. Since Alternative II calls for some significant population increase, however, this suggests that new recreation facilities would be even more important. Facilities in or near the cluster around the station, where the population growth would occur, could be especially appropriate. Some possibilities of this type would involve developing the leftover spaces along the freeway at Miles and Lockesley, improving and expanding the facilities at Claremont Junior High School, or perhaps some kind of joint use of the recreation facilities at the College of St. Albert.

EFFECTS

The major effects likely under this alternative are outlined in Table 9. In general there would be moderate changes right around the station and along College Avenue, but only slight changes in the remainder of Rockridge.

Housing and Related Effects. A substantial amount of low-rise apartment construction would probably take place immediately around the station on both sides of College, as well as on College itself. (As for the lower densities of garden apartments, the market outlook is such that more of these would probably be built to the east of College than to the west; and these would generally locate on the lowest-cost sites.) For Rockridge as a whole, a net increase of something like 380 to 500 housing units might be expected during the first decade after BART impact.

Because of the new construction right around the station, and the general upgrading which this alternative calls for, housing prices there would show some substantial increase. In the remaining sections of Rockridge the pressures on existing housing prices would be less direct. However, this alternative woul eventually tend to make even these sections more desirable and attractive, and tend to produce some increases in home values and rents. In other words there would be some "spillover" effect from the chang near the station. However, these increases would not be big enough to have a major effect on the existing income profiles of residents. Many existing residents would be able to absorb the increases, and would probably desire to do so if these directly reflected improvements to the area.

Map F

Illustrative Basic Zoning Under Alternative II

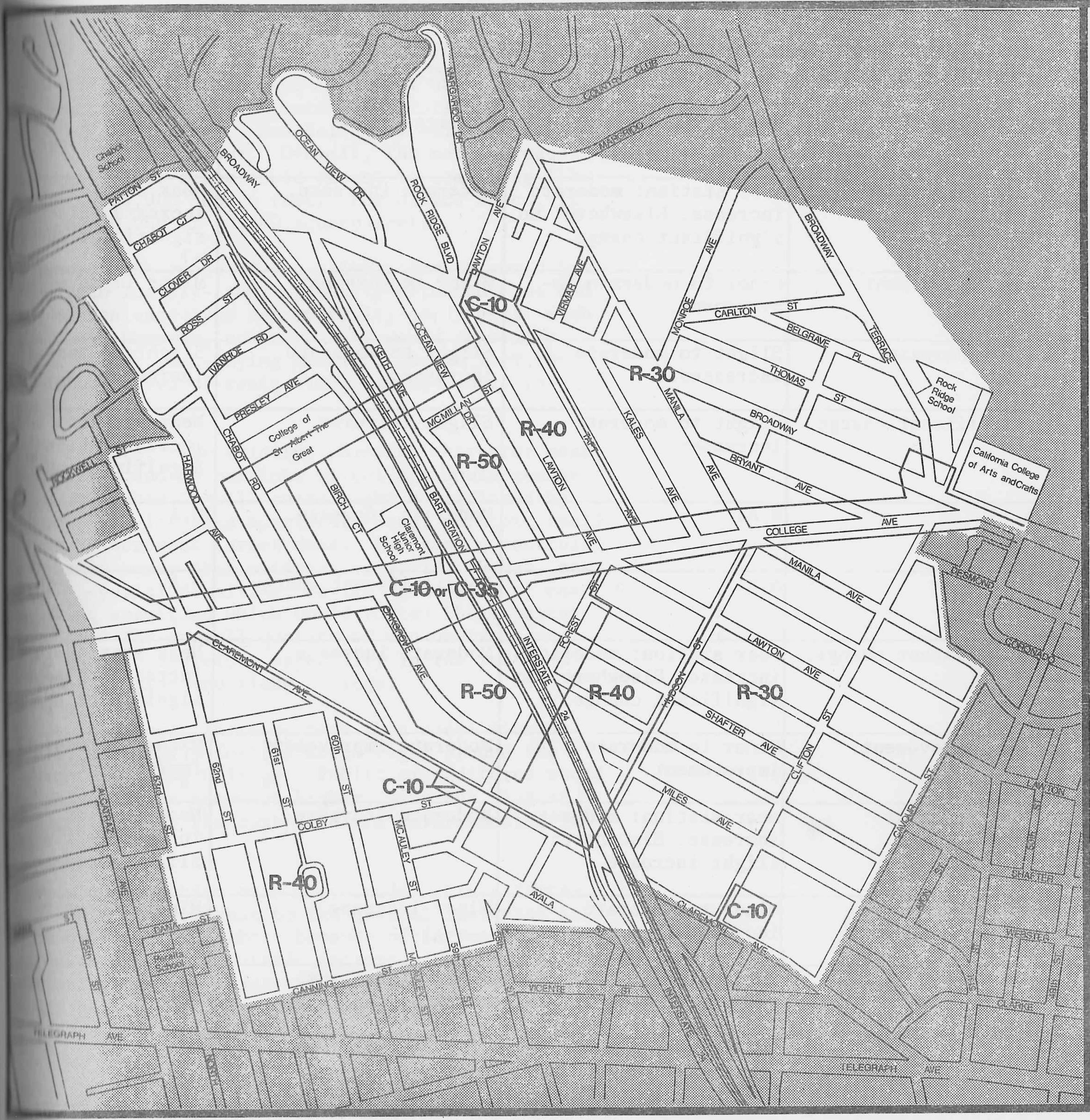

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Table 9

LIKELY MAJOR EFFECTS OF IMPLEMENTING ALTERNATIVE II: ROCKRIDGE STUDY AREA DURING FIRST DECADE "AFTER BART IMPACT"

Factor	Neighborhood F	Neighborhoods D and E	College Avenue	Residential Areas East of College
Total Housing Units	No significant change.	Near station: moderate increase. Elsewhere: no significant change.	Moderate increase.	Near station: maj increase. Elsewhe significant chang
Physical Quality of Housing	Minor improvement.	Minor to moderate improvement.	Minor improvement.	Minor improvement
Median Housing Rent and Value	Slight increase.	Slight to moderate increases.	Slight to moderate increases.	Slight to moderat increases.
Median Income of Residents	No significant change.	Slight to moderate increases.	Slight increase.	Near station: mod increase. Elsewhe significant chang
Total Commercial Floor Space	N.A.	N.A.	Moderate increase.	N.A.
Markets served By Commercial Facilities	N.A.	N.A.	No significant change.	N.A.
Visual Scale of Buildings in Area	No significant change.	Near station: moderate increase. Elsewhere: no significant change.	Moderate increase.	Near station: mod increase. Elsewhe significant chang
Overall Quality of Environment	Minor improvement.	Minor to moderate improvement.	Moderate improvement.	Minor to moderat improvement.
Total Assessed Valuation	Slight increase.	Near station: moderate increase. Elsewhere: slight increase.	Moderate increase.	Near station: mod increase. Elsewhe slight increase,
Required Level of Public Expenditures	Moderate increase.	Minor to moderate increases.	Minor increase.	Minor increase.
Traffic on Major Streets in Rockridge	Moderate increase, following initial jump when BART goes to San Francisco.			
Patronage at Rockridge BART Station	Moderate increase, following initial jump when BART goes to San Francisco.			

Commercial Effects. A fair amount of new commercial construction could be expected, typically on lower-cost or vacant sites. Remodeling of existing structures would also occur. Overall, the net increase in retail floor space could amount to something like [illegible],000 to 85,000 square feet. For office space, it might be 30,000 or 40,000 square feet.

In general the range of new establishments would include both locally- and regionally-oriented ones and both convenience-type and specialty-goods ones--much like now. However, new merchants would generally have a higher rent-paying ability, and in fact the prevailing level of rents along College would increase.

Other Effects. The existing physical character near the station and on portions of College would change somewhat. Here, small houses might be replaced by medium-scale low-rise apartments--and, perhaps, small stores by somewhat larger ones. The zoning controls envisioned under this alternative would, though, result in special detailing, design treatment, or compensating amenities which would soften the apparent contrast. The overall quality of the environment would tend to increase, especially in the sections near the station and along College.

Assessments would increase more than under Alternative I, especially for the areas right around the station and along College. Public expenditures would probably also be somewhat higher, with the biggest difference being the cost of extra environmental improvements.

The new construction encouraged under this alternative would add somewhat to the gradual increases in automobile traffic likely because of increasing BART patronage and other outside factors. However, concentrating the new construction near the station should help to minimize these locally generated increases.

ALTERNATIVE III: MODERATE-SCALE DEVELOPMENT WEST OF COLLEGE

GOALS

The goals of this alternative would be as follows:

> ACHIEVE NEW PRIVATE CONSTRUCTION OF TYPES WHICH WOULD NOT DEPART GREATLY FROM EXISTING ROCKRIDGE CHARACTER, AND UPGRADE THE PHYSICAL QUALITY OF STRUCTURES AND THE ENVIRONMENT, IN THOSE SECTIONS WHERE THERE ARE PRESSURES FOR PHYSICAL DETERIORATION. IN THE REMAINING SECTIONS, KEEP LAND USES, DENSITIES,AND THE OVERALL PHYSICAL QUALITY OF STRUCTURES AND THE ENVIRONMENT AS THEY ARE NOW.

This alternative, too, would seek to preserve the unique existing qualities of Rockridge. However, it would emphasize the importance of dealing forcefully with the pressures for deterioration which are already evident in various sections, and which could ultimately threaten all of Rockridge. As we have seen, some of the housing in the sections west of College has begun to show signs of undermaintenance or deterioration, partly due to increasing age but also perhaps because owners in these lower-rent sections have had difficulty paying for improvements. Then, too, in a broad sense the freeway has had a blighting effect on housing here. (To a lesser extent, there are also examples of poor maintenance along College below the station.)

Accordingly, this alternative would concentrate on the upgrading of these threatened sections. Encouraging attractive new private construction would be seen as one way of doing this.

GENERAL IMPLEMENTATION APPROACH

Public actions would be used to facilitate good-quali new housing construction, carefully designed to respect Rockridge scale and themes, at a variety of st tegic locations west of (or along) College where the physical quality of existing structures is poorest. This construction would be backed up by concentrated environmental improvements in the same sections, and widespread efforts to upgrade existing housing. Because of its location and visibility, actions in the corridor along Claremont Avenue, Temescal Creek, and the freeway would be of special importance. (Contin attention would also need to be given to the areas ju below Rockridge near Telegraph Avenue, with an eye fo pressures for undermaintenance there which could affect Rockridge.)

Actions in the remaining sections of Rockridge would seek to preserve these sections basically as they are now.

PRINCIPAL PUBLIC ACTIONS BY SUBAREA

Within Rockridge, the following public actions would be called for in each subarea.

Neighborhoods A, B, and C:

- . Downzone to prevent housing construction at higher than single-family density and to discourage undermaintenance due to speculation.
- . Make some environmental improvements, especially near the freeway, to the extent needed to keep the area attractive to the kinds of income groups that live there now.

Neighborhoods D and E:

- Downzone the blocks farthest from Claremont Avenue and the station, to prevent medium-density housing construction and to discourage undermaintenance due to speculation.

- Make zoning text changes to ensure that all new apartment construction is attractive and will enhance its surroundings.

- Encourage or assist, through redevelopment if appropriate, the construction of good-quality new housing on sites large enough to allow comprehensive site design and substantial on-site amenities, at enough strategic and prominent locations to make a major impact on the area's image.

- Encourage and require conservation and rehabilitation efforts, so as to upgrade the general physical quality of existing housing.

- Make environmental improvements, especially near the freeway and Claremont Avenue, so as to generally upgrade the area and further encourage new private investment.

- Provide some form of financial assistance where needed to enable existing owners to make major repairs to their houses.

Neighborhood F:

- Downzone to prevent premature, poor-quality medium-density housing construction and to discourage undermaintenance due to speculation.

- In the long run, if and when demand and amenities here are sufficient, upzone selected portions near the freeway or Claremont Avenue to provide for good-quality new medium-density housing (and encourage or assist land assembly, through redevelopment where appropriate, if necessary to enable such construction).

- Make zoning text changes to ensure that all new apartment construction is attractive and will enhance its surroundings.

- Encourage and require conservation and rehabilitation efforts, so as to upgrade the general physical quality of existing housing.

- Make environmental improvements, so as to generally upgrade the area and encourage new private investment.

- Provide some form of financial assistance where needed to enable existing owners to make major repairs to their houses.

College Avenue:

- Along the northern section of College, rezone and/or make zoning text changes to reduce the allowable density of new construction, and to ensure that new construction is consistent with existing character.

- Along the sections at and below the freeway, rezone and/or make zoning text changes to ensure that new construction is attractive and will enhance its surroundings.

- Require and encourage conservation and rehabilitation efforts:

  - so as to upgrade the general physical quality of structures at and south of the freeway,

  - so as to preserve the existing quality level elsewhere.

- Make environmental improvements:

  - so as to significantly upgrade the environment, and encourage new private investment, at and south of the freeway,

. so as to keep the section north of the freeway attractive to the kinds of people who shop, work, or live there now.

SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF SOME OF THE ABOVE ACTIONS

Zoning. A schematic example of what the basic zoning pattern might look like under this alternative is given by Map G. (Possibly in some cases the R-60 Zone might be used instead of R-50 if text changes were made in it such as requiring a use permit for all sizable projects and prohibiting high-rise construction.) In addition, the S-4 Design Review Combining Zone might be mapped in some places.

The map also suggests where some rezoning might be done in the long run. Even in the shorter run, some of the rezonings the map implies might be staged to key in with such actions as redevelopment.

Actions to Assist Rebuilding. As for the sizable rebuilding projects which this alternative calls for, at least some of these might not involve public "redevelopment" as such. Instead, sites might be acquired by private developers, where this is feasible, or even for publicly assisted housing.

Examples of possible sites are:

1. some of the larger parcels or groups of lots in the block bounded by Claremont, Chabot, and College --especially the commercial ones along the Claremont side;

2. the block bounded by Shafter Avenue, Forest Street, and College;

3. some of the commercial and smaller multiple properties along Claremont near Colby and Martin Streets;

4. some of the deep lots, occupied by older dwellings, along Temescal Creek from Hudson to Clarke (possibly with the addition of the Safeway site in the long run);

5. some sites west of Claremont, and even outside "Rockridge" proper--such as some of the large or vacant lots near Telegraph Avenue, 57th, and 58th Street.

Environmental Improvements. Tree planting and utility undergrounding along Claremont Avenue could be valuable environmental improvements. Even more important might be expansion of Temescal Creek Park beyond the boundaries to which it is presently being built. For instance, most of the creek section between Clifton and Hardy will not presently be included due to lack of space and visibility. Including it could become practical, though, if there were large-scale rebuilding of adjacent lots. The park might also be expanded to include some kind of joint use of the Department of Motor Vehicles parking lot at Cavour and Miles. It might be extended eastward along the freeway, thereby providing the new housing sites along Claremont with direct and attractive pedestrian access to the BART station.

Other kinds of environmental improvements might include freeway buffering and selective street closings or narrowings. Widespread planting of street trees could be very helpful in improving the "image" of all the sections west of College.

EFFECTS

Table 10 shows the major effects likely under this alternative. In general there would be substantial changes west of College, and some on College itself, but little change in the residential areas to the east.

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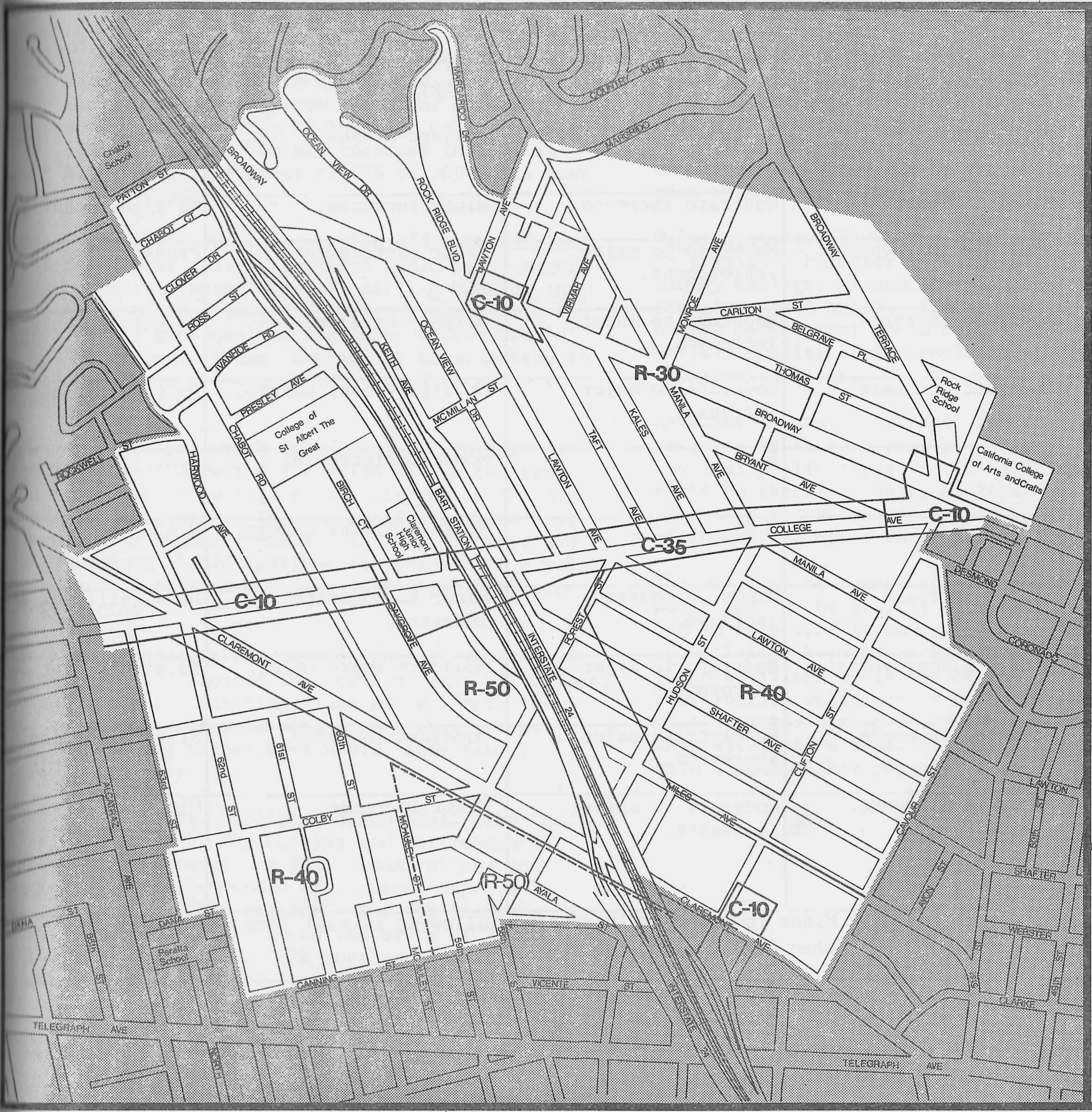

Map G

Illustrative Basic Zoning Under Alternative III

------ (R-50) Possible Long-Run Zoning Where Different From Short-Run

2031

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DEPARTMENT

Table 10

LIKELY MAJOR EFFECTS OF IMPLEMENTING ALTERNATIVE III: ROCKRIDGE STUDY AREA DURING FIRST DECADE "AFTER BART IMPACT"

Factor	Neighborhood F	Neighborhoods D and E	College Avenue	Residential Areas East of College
Total Housing Units	Minor increase.	Moderate increase.	Minor increase.	No significant cha
Physical Quality of Housing	Moderate improvement.	Moderate to major improvement.	Minor improvement.	Preservation as is
Median Housing Rent and Value	Moderate increase.	Moderate to major increases.	Slight increase.	Slight increase.
Median Income of Residents	Moderate increase	Moderate to major increases	No significant change.	No significant cha
Total Commercial Floor Space	N.A.	N.A.	Moderate increase.	N.A.
Markets Served By Commercial Facilities	N.A.	N.A.	No significant change.	N.A.
Visual Scale of Buildings in Area	Slight increase.	Minor to moderate increase.	Minor to moderate increase.	No significant cha
Overall Quality of Environment	Moderate improvement.	Moderate to major improvement	Moderate improvement.	No significant cha
Total Assessed Valuation	Moderate increase.	Moderate to major increases.	Moderate increase.	Slight increase.
Required Level of Public Expenditures (Compared to Existing Level)	Moderate increase.	Moderate to major increases.	Minor increase.	Minor increase.
Traffic on Major Streets in Rockridge	Minor to moderate increases, following initial jump when BART goes to San Francisco.			
Patronage at Rockridge BART Station	Moderate increase, following initial jump when BART goes to San Francisco.			

Housing and Related Effects. New medium- and lower-density housing would be built especially along Claremont and the freeway west of College, and some units would also be built on College. For Rockridge as a whole, the net increase in housing units might be on the order of 375 to 500 units over a ten-year period.

At the same time, the conservation and rehab efforts envisioned under this alternative would cause significant physical improvement of existing housing in the same sections. This improvement, along with the impact of the good-quality new construction, would cause the general house demand for housing here to increase. Rents and home values would increase to reflect this.

Because of housing price increases, and to some extent because of direct dislocation by new construction, there would be significant changes in the make-up of residents here. The new residents would have substantially higher incomes. In fact, incomes and housing demand should continue to increase to a point where private efforts would be sufficient to prevent deterioration.

All these changes to the west of College would tend to reinforce and protect the sections east of College, and encourage the existing kinds of residents to remain and invest money in maintaining their properties. Rents and values here would, inevitably, increase slightly.

Commercial Effects. College Avenue would also tend to be reinforced by the housing and environmental upgrading to the west. A fair amount of new commercial construction would take place, especially near and south of the station. The net increase in retail floor area might be on the order of 75,000 to 100,000 square feet. The increase in office space might be something like 35,000 to 45,000 square feet.

In general there would be no major changes in the markets served by commercial establishments along College, although rent levels would tend to increase. Merchants wishing relatively inexpensive space might be able to locate in the section between the station and Broadway, but a few of the existing more marginal ones might leave altogether.

Other Effects. There would be some significant changes in physical character in various places west of (and along) College, as new low-rise but larger-scale structures are built. Again, however, the controls on new development would soften the contrast. The overall quality of the environment would increase in the same sections.

Assessments would increase, generally paralleling the increase in housing prices. So, too, would the general level of public expenditures--although much of this might be short-run only, at least for rehab assistance, since the neighborhoods should be able to take care of themselves after they have been upgraded.

The housing and commercial increases described above would add to the gradual increases in BART patronage, and in auto traffic on major streets, which are likely in Rockridge because of external factors. However, these additions would not be too great since the new construction would not be high-density. It should also be noted that much of the new construction under this alternative would be near Claremont, an arterial with a much higher capacity than College.

ALTERNATIVE IV: MAXIMUM PRIVATE INVESTMENT NEAR THE STATION

GOALS

The goals of this alternative can be stated as follows:

> MAXIMIZE PRIVATE INVESTMENT, AND UPGRADE THE OVERALL PHYSICAL QUALITY OF STRUCTURES AND THE ENVIRONMENT, IN A FEW PLACES ESPECIALLY ACCESSIBLE TO BART. IN THE REMAINING SECTIONS, KEEP LAND USES, DENSITIES, AND THE OVERALL PHYSICAL QUALITY OF STRUCTURES AND THE ENVIRONMENT AS THEY ARE NOW.

Like Alternative II, this strategy would seek to keep most of Rockridge physically as it is now, yet would seek in a few places, to take advantage of the development potential brought by BART. However, it would go further, accepting--and in fact encouraging --a much greater degree of change near the station. It would assume that even high-density, high-rise construction at this location could be designed so as not to impair its surroundings.

GENERAL IMPLEMENTATION APPROACH

Again as under Alternative II, the implementation approach here would vary between the outlying sections of Rockridge and the places most accessible to BART. In the outlying sections the downzoning and other actions would be very close to those under Alternative II, but vigorous efforts would be made to redesign the area immediately around the station, and to establish it clearly as the dominant focus of Rockridge. In addition, because of the intensity of development near the station, actions to significantly improve access to it would be called for.

PRINCIPAL PUBLIC ACTIONS BY SUBAREA

The following major actions would be appropriate in each subarea.

Neighborhoods A, B, and C:

- Rezone to allow appropriate high-density and other construction on the blocks immediately around the station.
- Downzone the remaining sections to restrict housing construction to low density--single-family density on the blocks farther from the station--and to discourage undermaintenance due to speculation.
- Make zoning text changes to ensure that new construction is attractive and harmonious with its surroundings.
- Encourage or assist, through redevelopment if appropriate, the rebuilding of sites at and immediately around the station on a large enough scale to allow comprehensive site design with substantial on-site amenities.
- Make environmental improvements:
  - so as to significantly upgrade the environment, and further encourage new private investment, right around the station,
  - so as to keep the remaining sections attractive to the kinds of income groups that live there now.
- Make access improvements to make it easier to get to the station.

Neighborhoods D and E:

- Rezone to allow appropriate high-density and other construction on the blocks immediately around the station.

- Downzone the remaining sections to restrict housing construction to low density--single-family density on the blocks farther from the station--and to discourage undermaintenance due to speculation.

- Make zoning text changes to ensure that new construction is attractive and harmonious with its surroundings.

- Encourage or assist, through redevelopment if appropriate, the rebuilding of sites at and immediately around the station on a large enough scale to allow comprehensive site design with substantial on-site amenities.

- Encourage and require conservation and rehabilitation efforts:

  - so as to upgrade the general physical quality of housing near the station,

  - so as to preserve the existing quality level in other sections.

- Make environmental improvements:

  - so as to significantly upgrade the environment, and further encourage new private investment, right near the station,

  - so as to keep the remaining sections attractive to the kinds of income groups who live there now.

- Make access improvements to make it easier to get to the station.

- Provide some form of financial assistance where needed to enable existing owners to make major improvements to their houses.

Neighborhood F:

- Downzone to prevent housing construction at higher than single-family density and to discourage undermaintenance due to speculation.

- Encourage and require conservation and rehabilitation efforts, to the extent necessary to prevent further deterioration in the overall physical quality of structures.

- Make environmental improvements, to the extent needed to keep the area attractive to the kinds of income groups that live there now.

- Provide some form of financial assistance where needed to enable existing kinds of owners to make major improvements to their houses.

College Avenue:

- Rezone and/or make zoning text changes to ensure that new construction is attractive and harmonious with its surroundings.

- Encourage or assist, through redevelopment if appropriate, the rebuilding of sites at and immediately around the station on a large enough scale to allow comprehensive site design with substantial on-site amenities.

- Encourage and require conservation and rehabilitation efforts in some places, where necessary to upgrade the overall physical quality of existing structures.

- Make environmental improvements, especially at and near the station, so as to significantly upgrade the area and further encourage new private investment.

- Make access improvements to make it easier to get to the station.

SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF SOME OF THE ABOVE ACTIONS

Zoning. Map H suggests a schematic basic zoning pattern which might be appropriate under this alternative. (As for the high-density rezonings which this would call for near the station, it could be very important to coordinate these with redevelopment or other public actions so as to avoid premature rebuilding.) One thing the map suggests is a possible "relocation" of commercial zoning, involving rezoning part of lower College to R-70 while expanding commercial zoning along Keith and Miles opposite the station.

In addition to these basic zones, the S-4 Design Review Combining Zone could be used--perhaps covering all the commercial and R-70 area near the station.

Zoning text changes or administrative guidelines might deal with high-rise construction,prescribing such things as a maximum width of towers, a minimum lot size for high-rise construction, minimum setbacks or distance from single-family houses, or criteria for massing, scale,and detailing.

Actions to Assist Rebuilding. Important sites which might be appropriate for rebuilding under this alternative include:

1. the triangular block between College, Shafter, and Forest;

2. the large Lucky Market property on the west side of College below Oak Grove Avenue;

3. the Claremont Junior High School property;

4. the BART parking lot itself.

Although the Schools Master Plan study has tentatively decided that an intermediary school should remain on the Claremont site, no detailed plans have been drawn. Consideration might still be given to making joint school-commercial use of this very valuable site, or at least of revising the school-site boundaries. One possibility might be a land swap whereby the school could increase its total acreage, by expanding eastwards while selling its more valuable College Avenue frontage for commercial or apartment use. (The main school building directly facing College must be demolished for earthquake safety reasons.)

The economic picture around the station is such that a redevelopment project covering one or more of these sites might not need a major "writedown." Furthermore, the tax increments from such a project might be used to pay for various capital improvements benefiting the area.

The legal eligibility of these sites for redevelopment cannot be determined without a more detailed study. However, even if "redevelopment" as such were not employed here, there are other ways in which rebuilding here could be assisted. One of these would be the concept of "joint development" outlined in Chapter 3. For example, land values along College are high enough that private air rights development over the BART station might be feasible.

Environmental Improvements. New plazas and recreation areas might be included in the rebuilding sites listed above, perhaps at the developers' expense. A new neighborhood park might be created in conjunction with an expansion of Claremont School. Other recreation space might be provided, as suggested earlier, by expanding Temescal Creek Park eastward to link up with the station.

Other examples of helpful environmental improvements would be plazas or other beautification work along College; improved buffering along the freeway in

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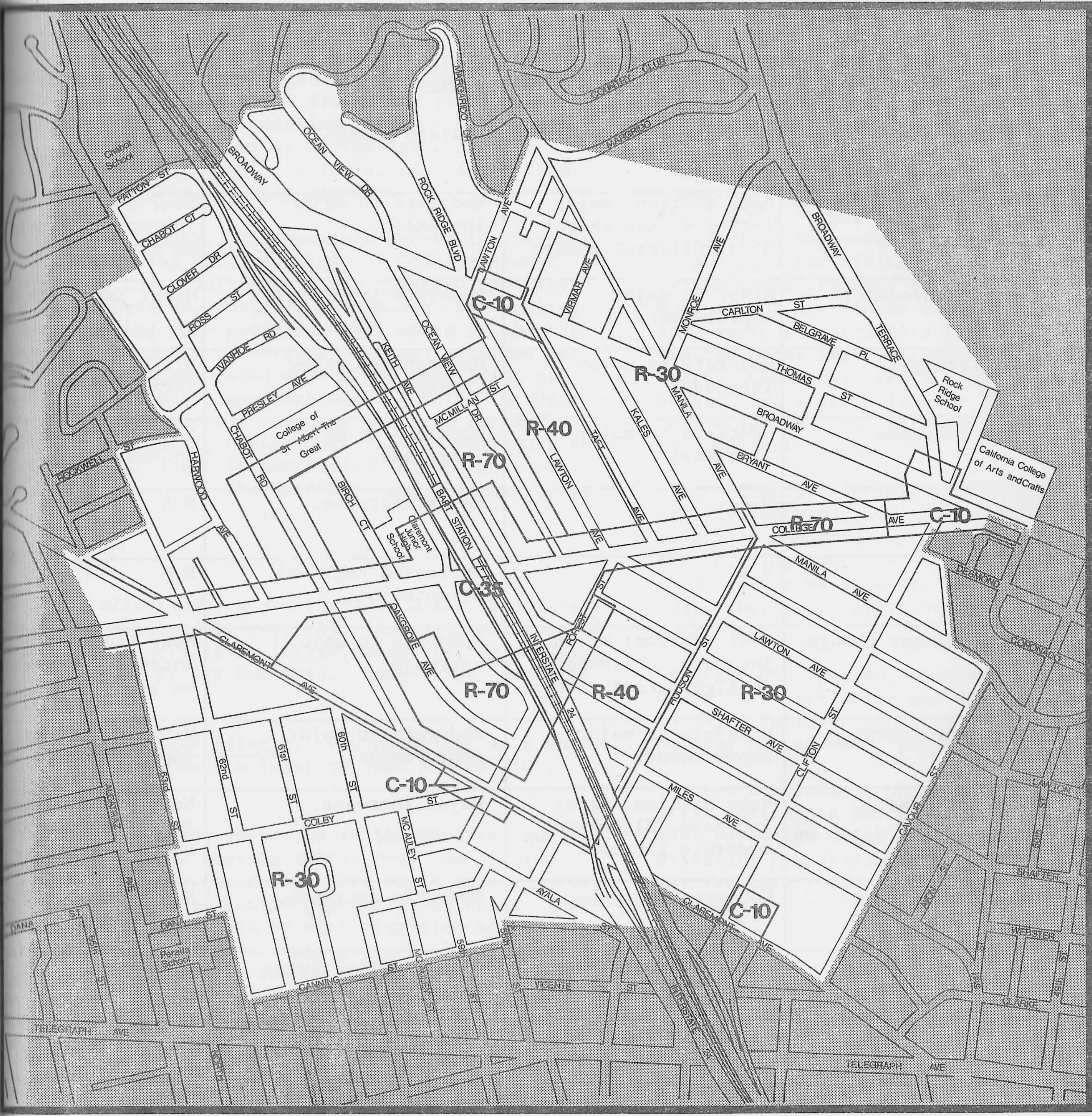


Map H

Illustrative Basic Zoning Under Alternative IV

2031

OAKLAND
CITY PLANNING
DEPARTMENT

Table 11

LIKELY MAJOR EFFECTS OF IMPLEMENTING ALTERNATIVE IV: ROCKRIDGE STUDY AREA DURING FIRST DECADE "AFTER BART IMPACT"

Factor	Neighborhood F	Neighborhoods D and E	College Avenue	Residential Areas East of College
Total Housing Units	No significant change.	Near station: major increase. Elsewhere: no significant change	Moderate to major increases.	Near station: major increase. Elsewhere: no significant change
Physical Quality of Housing	Minor improvement.	Minor to major improvement.	Moderate improvement.	Minor improvement.
Median Housing Rent and Value	Minor increase.	Moderate to major increases.	Moderate to major increases.	Slight to moderate increases.
Median Income of Residents	Slight increase.	Moderate to major increases.	Moderate to major increases.	Slight to moderate increases.
Total Commercial Floor Space	N.A.	N.A.	Major increase.	N.A.
Markets Served By Commercial Facilities	N.A.	N.A.	Increased regional orientation.	N.A.
Visual Scale of Buildings in Area	No significant change.	Near station: major increase. Elsewhere: no significant change.	Moderate to major increase.	Near station: major increase. Elsewhere: no significant change
Overall Quality of Environment	Minor improvement.	Moderate to major improvement.	Moderate to major improvement.	Minor to moderate improvement.
Total Assessed Valuation	Minor increase.	Near station: major increase. Elsewhere: moderate increase.	Major increase.	Near station: major increase. Elsewhere: slight increase.
Required Level of Public Expenditures	Moderate increase.	Moderate increase.	Moderate increase.	Minor to moderate increases.
Traffic on Major Streets in Rockridge	Moderate increase, following initial jump when BART goes to San Francisco.			
Patronage at Rockridge BART station	Major increase, following initial jump when BART goes to San Francisco.			

neral; and street tree planting and utility under-
rounding, especially right around the station.
round the edges of the station-centered high-density
luster, street closings or narrowings could serve
discourage this cluster's increased traffic from
pilling over into outlying sections.

ccess Improvements. One possible access improvement
ight be widening those portions of College Avenue
djacent to the rebuilding sites. Traffic capacity
ould be increased, instead, by banning curb parking,
t least during rush periods. This would further in-
rease the need for off-street parking, although park-
ng might be incorporated within the rebuilding pro-
ects. A more basic approach might involve improving
ransit access, thereby reducing the need for BART
ommuters, shoppers, office workers, and residents to
rive to Rockridge. In particular, direct bus service
ould be provided to the Montclair and Piedmont areas.

FECTS

he major effects which are probable under this alter-
tive are outlined in Table 11. As might be expected,
here would generally be little change in the outlying
ections of Rockridge but major change right near the
tation.

ousing and Related Effects. For Rockridge as a whole,
here might be a net increase of some 600 to 750
ousing units.

here would be major increases in the physical quality
f housing, and in housing rents, near the station.
n general the new residents there would have consider-
bly higher incomes than is presently the case. The
rket segment likely to be most attracted to the new
nits here would include younger professional house-
olds and families with few or no children. Although
he changes would be less dramatic in the outlying
ections of Rockridge, this alternative would encourage
me upgrading of existing housing there, too. Housing demand and prices there would increase; and average income levels of residents would tend to increase more or less significantly, depending on location.

Commercial Effects. There could be large additions of commercial space under this alternative. Overall, there might be net increases of 350,000 or 450,000 square feet for retail space and 100,000 to 135,000 square feet for office space. In general, College Avenue would probably become more regionally-oriented. Many of the new stores would be specialized ones, and such regionally-oriented firms as professional offices and financial institutions would be attracted to Rockridge. Commercial rents would probably increase substantially, especially near the station. Some of the more marginal local merchants would no longer be able to compete for space.

Other Effects. Overall environmental quality would be greatly improved, and the existing physical character radically changed, right around the station. Although the outlying sections themselves would remain much as they are now physically, the changes near the station would inevitably alter somewhat the overall image of Rockridge.

As might be expected, assessments would increase more under this than under any of the alternatives discussed so far. Public expenditures would also increase--though perhaps not as much, proportionally, as assessments would.

The new development under this alternative would add still further to the gradual increases in traffic and BART patronage which are likely in any case. However, orienting new development to the station and the freeway frontage roads should help to minimize the traffic increases.

ALTERNATIVE V: MAXIMUM PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN ROCKRIDGE AS A WHOLE

GOAL

The underlying goal of this alternative is as follows:

> MAXIMIZE PRIVATE INVESTMENT, AND UPGRADE THE OVERALL PHYSICAL QUALITY OF STRUCTURES AND THE ENVIRONMENT, IN ROCKRIDGE AS A WHOLE.

This goal would recognize that the economic forces are such that substantial private investment could be attracted to many sections of Rockridge--not just to the immediate environs of the station and College Avenue. Other sections share Rockridge's environmental qualities, and streets such as Broadway and Claremont have greater traffic capacity than College Avenue. Assuming adequate public investment in parks and other facilities, new construction might be accommodated in many places.

"Maximum private investment" is a more complex concept than may appear at first glance. This term refers to aggregate investment--for Rockridge as a whole--counting both new construction and investment in maintaining or renovating existing buildings.

GENERAL IMPLEMENTATION APPROACH

"Maximizing private investment" would definitely not call for opening up all of Rockridge to high-density development. That would be self-defeating. Since there would clearly be far from enough market demand to rebuild all of Rockridge, the result would likely be a spotty pattern of new construction which would disrupt existing stable neighborhoods and discourage maintenance of existing structures--and therefore not maximize private investment.

Instead, this alternative would seek to channel new construction into the most appropriate areas, especially those with the best access. As under Alternatives III and IV, the general approach would involve redevelopment or other public actions at strategic locations to encourage development. Higher-density rezonings would be staged over time, to relate the allowed amount of new construction to demonstrated demand and to the rate of public progress in upgrading areas and expanding park, access, and other facilities.

Many sections would in fact be downzoned, at least in the short run, under this alternative. These would include the highest value, most solidly single-family areas, but also some lower-value sections where high-density zoning in the short run might lead only to undermaintenance and some premature, poor-quality construction.

PRINCIPAL PUBLIC ACTIONS BY SUBAREA

The following major kinds of actions would be called for in each subarea.

Neighborhoods A, B, and C:

- Rezone to allow appropriate high-density and other construction on the blocks immediately around the station.
- Downzone the remaining sections, except along major streets, where necessary to prevent medium-density housing construction and to discourage undermaintenance due to speculation.
- In the long run--if and when demand and public facilities are sufficient--upzone selected areas along the freeway or near major open spaces or

other amenities to allow good-quality, medium- or high-density housing construction.

- Make zoning text changes (and/or rezone) to ensure that new construction is attractive and harmonious with its surroundings.

- Encourage or assist, through redevelopment if appropriate, the attractive rebuilding of strategic sites, especially at and near the station, on a large enough scale to allow comprehensive site design with substantial on-site amenities.

- Encourage and require conservation and rehabilitation efforts, to the extent this may be necessary to deal with undermaintenance caused by speculation of future reuse.

- Make environmental improvements, so as to generally upgrade the area and further encourage private investment.

- Make access improvements to make it easier to get to the station.

Neighborhoods D and E:

- Rezone to allow appropriate high-density and other construction on the blocks near the station and Claremont Avenue.

- Downzone the remaining sections to prevent premature, poor-quality medium-density housing construction and to discourage undermaintenance due to speculation. In the long run -- if and when demand and amenities are sufficient -- upzone some portions to allow for good-quality, medium-density construction.

- Make zoning text changes to ensure that new construction is attractive and harmonious with its surroundings.

- Encourage or assist, through redevelopment if appropriate, attractive good-quality new construction on sites large enough to allow comprehensive site design and substantial on-site amenities, near the station and at enough other strategic locations to make a major impact on the area's image.

- Encourage and require conservation and rehabilitation efforts, so as to upgrade the overall physical quality of housing.

- Make environmental improvements, so as to generally upgrade the area and further encourage new private investment.

- Make access improvements, especially to make it easier to get to the station.

Neighborhood F:

- Downzone to prevent premature, poor-quality medium-density housing construction and to discourage undermaintenance due to speculation.

- In the long run, if and when demand and amenities here are sufficient, upzone selected portions near the freeway or Claremont Avenue to provide for attractive new medium-density housing (and encourage or assist land assembly, through redevelopment where appropriate, if necessary to enable such construction).

- Make zoning text changes to ensure that all new apartment construction is attractive and will enhance its surroundings.

- Encourage and require conservation and rehabilitation efforts, so as to upgrade the overall physical quality of housing.

- Make environmental improvements, so as to generally upgrade the area and encourage new private investment.

College Avenue:

- Rezone and/or make zoning text changes to ensure that new construction is attractive and harmonious with its surroundings.

- Encourage or assist, through redevelopment if appropriate, the attractive rebuilding of strategic sites, especially at and near the station, on a large enough scale to allow comprehensive site design with substantial on-site amenities.

- Require and encourage conservation and rehabilitation efforts, where necessary to upgrade the general physical quality of existing structures.

- Make environmental improvements, especially at and near the station, so as to upgrade the general area and further encourage new private investment.

- Make access improvements, especially to make it easier to get to the station.

SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF SOME OF THE ABOVE ACTIONS

Zoning. Map I suggests schematically what the basic zoning pattern might look like under this alternative. It also illustrates how some zoning changes might be done only in the long run when demand and amenities are sufficient. (Even in the short run some zoning changes might be staged so as to coordinate them with redevelopment or other public actions.) The S-4 Design Review Combining Zone might also be mapped at some locations. Just as under Alternative IV, design controls and guidelines could be devised to deal with even high-rise buildings.

Actions to Assist Rebuilding. Examples of strategic rebuilding sites--some of which might not require actual public "redevelopment"--would include those already listed under Alternatives III and IV. If actual redevelopment were involved, this might in some cases be possible without a major writedown--and tax increments might be made available for needed capital improvements.

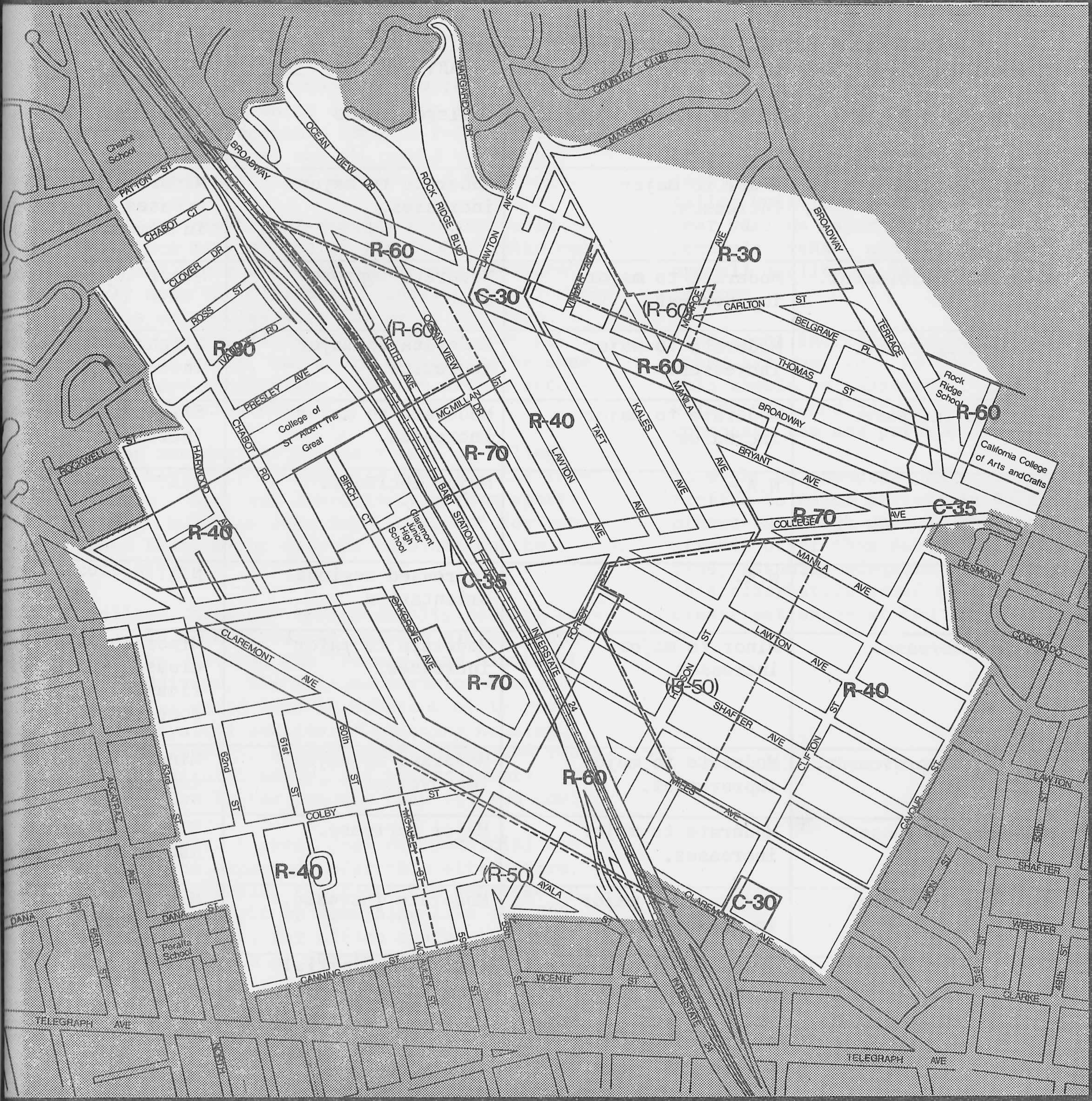
Environmental Improvements. Major new recreation facilities would be desirable in several sections under this alternative. Possible locations include the rebuilding sites near the station; expansion of Temescal Creek Park; plazas or small parks along College Avenue (e.g., at the underused corner of Manila); expansion or more intensive joint use of playgrounds at Peralta and Rockridge Schools; joint use or even acquisition of the St. Albert's College site; and use of surplus parcels along the 51st Street widening just south of Rockridge.

Other possible environmental improvements which might be helpful under this alternative include buffering along the freeway, utility undergrounding along several major streets, and tree planting in many sections. Carefully located street closings or narrowings, in many places, could be particularly valuable since this alternative's pattern of new development along several major streets might otherwise draw a lot of new traffic onto the local streets in between them.

Access Improvements. As under Alternative IV, access improvements might involve providing new off-street parking, or maybe widening College Avenue, but perhaps more importantly improving transit service. Since this alternative would encourage a more widespread pattern of new development in Rockridge than any of the others, improved feeder transit service would be desirable along several routes. These include Claremont Avenue, Alcatraz, Broadway, and Broadway Terrace as well as College Avenue. Bikeways and pedestrian routes could also help to link new development to the station.

EFFECTS

As Table 12 shows, implementing this alternative would cause major changes in various parts of Rockridge. The cluster of new development around the station would become the most important focus in Rockridge, but new construction would also occur in many other locations--notably along the freeway and several major streets.



Map I

Illustrative Basic Zoning Under Alternative

V

------ (R-60) Possible Long-Run Zoning Where Different From Short-Run

2031

OAKLAND
CITY PLANNING
DEPARTMENT

Table 12

LIKELY MAJOR EFFECTS OF IMPLEMENTING ALTERNATIVE V: ROCKRIDGE STUDY AREA DURING FIRST DECADE "AFTER BART IMPACT"

Factor	Neighborhood F	Neighborhoods D and E	College Avenue	Residential Areas East of College
Total Housing Units	Minor increase.	Minor to major increases.	Moderate to major increases.	Minor to major increases (no change in some sections).
Physical Quality of Housing	Moderate improvement.	Moderate to major improvement.	Moderate improvement.	Minor improvement.
Median Housing Rent and Value	Moderate increase.	Moderate to major increases.	Moderate to major increases.	Slight to moderate increases.
Median Income of Residents	Moderate increase.	Moderate to major increases.	Moderate to major increases.	Slight to moderate increases.
Total Commercial Floor Space	N.A.	N.A.	Major increase.	N.A.
Markets Served By Commercial Facilities	N.A.	N.A.	Increased regional orientation.	N.A.
Visual Scale of Buildings in Area	Slight increase.	Minor to major increases.	Moderate to major increases.	Minor to major increases (no significant change in some sections).
Overall Quality of Environment	Moderate improvement.	Moderate to major improvement.	Moderate to major improvement.	Minor to moderate improvement.
Total Assessed Valuation	Moderate increase.	Moderate to major increases.	Major increase.	Slight to major increases.
Required Level of Public Expenditures	Moderate increase.	Moderate to major increases.	Moderate increase.	Minor to Moderate increases.
Traffic on Major Streets in Rockridge	Moderate to Major increases, following initial jump when BART goes to San Francisco.			
Patronage at Rockridge BART station	Major increase, following initial jump when BART goes to San Francisco.			

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Housing and Related Effects. Overall, Rockridge might experience a net increase of something over 1,100 to 1,400 housing units during the first decade after BART makes its economic impacts felt. The patterns of housing changes, though, would vary substantially between different sections of Rockridge.

East of College, new higher-density housing would probably replace many of the single-family units near the station and along Broadway or Broadway Terrace, particularly near the Claremont Country Club. Younger professionals or couples with few or no children would probably be the kinds of households most attracted to these units, but there could also be some interest by older persons who like the area's accessibility and attractiveness.

The remaining residential sections east of College would remain basically as they are now, for the foreseeable future. Some new low-density garden apartments might be built in some locations, but for some time to come these might only be feasible on the lowest-cost sites.

West of College, high- or medium-density housing construction could be expected at various places--especially near the station, the freeway, and Claremont Avenue. In addition, the actions envisioned under this alternative would lead to substantial improvements in the physical quality of existing housing. For both these reasons, average home values and rents would increase significantly, and new residents would tend to have higher incomes than is true now.

Commercial Effects. A great deal of commercial construction could be expected under this alternative. For Rockridge as a whole, the total net increase in retail floor space might be something like 450,000 to 600,000 square feet; for office space, the increase might be 200,000 or 300,000 square feet.

The nature of the College Avenue commercial area would change significantly. Rents would increase, forcing out some existing more marginal operations, and many of the new stores and offices would be more oriented to a regional market.

Other Effects. The physical character of various sections would change significantly, as larger and taller buildings were built near the station and near various major streets. However, due to design controls, rehab, and various public improvements, the overall quality of the environment would generally improve.

Assessment increases would be greater than under any other alternative. As for the cost of public actions, this should be substantial--representing largely environmental and access improvements necessary to accommodate the new private development.

As might be expected, this alternative could add more traffic to major streets in Rockridge than any of the others--although much of the increase would be on streets other than narrow College Avenue. At the same time, assuming adequate feeder transit can be provided, this alternative would do more than any other to increase patronage at the Rockridge BART station.

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